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ABSTRACT

Papers presented at the Southwest Area Language and Linguistics Workshop (SWALLOW) include both theoretical and practical contributions. First and second language acquisition was studied in terms of its effects on first language, its acquisition in a bilingual classroom, and its assessment. Native American student speeches were examined in terms of implications for the teacher, the cultural factors involved in the organization of speeches, classroom implications, and integration of alternative speaking patterns in bicultural situations. Ethnomusicology and linguistics were approached through the investigation of bilingual song both in Guarani and Spanish and Quechua and Spanish. Different types of Papago and Chicano songs were analyzed. Varieties of English and code-switching were discussed and literacy, bilingualism, and pedogogical implications were investigated. Papers were presented on applications of linguistics to language teaching and theoretical concerns of language in contact were discussed. The final papers dealt with phonological descriptions of Spanish. (Author/NCR)

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SPEAKING, SINGING AND TEACHING: A MULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO LANGUAGE VARIATION

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL SOUTHWESTERN AREAL LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS WORKSHOP

FLORENCE BARKIN AND ELIZABETH BRANDT,
EDITORS

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INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

The Southwest Areal Language and Linguistics Workshop (SWALLOW) first took place in 1972 in the west Texas town of El Paso and was originally organized by one of the prime movers of the Southwest Circle, Jacob Ornstein (UTEP). SWALLOW II, held at Albuquerque in 1973 at the University of New Mexico, followed under the able direction of Garland Bills, an avid researcher of Southwestern languages. Since then, the workshop has developed into an annual event, usually held in the Spring. It brings together professionals from all disciplines concerned with language, linguistics and their applications to the complex ethnic and linguistic mosaic peculiar to the greater Southwest. The conference has generated a great deal of research over the years, some of which is published in these Proceedings, and has stimulated work in many new areas.

SWALLOW takes place through the efforts of dedicated individuals representing their host institutions. There is no formal organizational structure, no officers nor dues, yet the core of researchers (and the camaraderie) has grown markedly through the years. Each year the Proceedings are published and provide a continuing and valuable resource for those interested in the Southwest, in multilingualism, language acquisition and variation, and cultural pluralism. The Proceedings are distributed widely and can be found in practically every materials center in the American Southwest. Each year SWALLOW focuses upon a different overall theme, but a particular concern with Spanish, Native American languages, English, and other Southwestern language varieties has been maintained over the years.

This year's workshop was held from 19-21 April, 1979, on the campus of the Arizona State University under the direction of the Volume Editors. There were thirteen sessions, and four panel discussions involving some 75 participants overall. In addition to actual participants, approximately 250 teachers, students, and scholars from the local community and from other parts of the state and nation attended the workshop. Some 45 papers were presented. Panelists were also requested to present five-minute position statements on specific topics covered in the papers, most of which were presented in the context of organized symposia. A typical example is the session entitled "A Structural-Cultural Analysis of Native American Student Speeches and its Implications for the Teacher," moderated by Philip Lujan of the University of Oklahoma. Composed of participants from a single institution (Oklahoma), and using a single data base, the approach proved particularly successful and effective within the SWALLOW format. Because the Regional Society of Ethnomusicology had planned their annual meeting for about the same time, sessions on ethnomusicology and linguistics, and on Chicano song were also included for the first time in SWALLOW VIII. Papers ranged from anthropological approaches to song to linguistic analyses of bilingualism through song.

Papers presented at SWALLOW VIII reflect certain important areas of linguistic concern and include both theoretical and practical contributions. First and second language acquisition was studied in terms of its effects on first language (Amastae), its acquisition in a bilingual classroom (Edelsky and Hudelson), and its assessment (Orr). Native American student speeches were examined in terms of implications for the teacher (Cooley and Lujan), the cultural factors involved in the organization of speeches (Siler and Labadie-Wondergem), classroom implications (Scafe and Kontas) and integration of alternative speaking patterns in bicultural situations (Dauphinais and Waterman).

Ethnomusicology and linguistics were approached through the investigation of bilingual song both in Guaraní and Spanish (Rivas), and Quechua and Spanish (Hart-González). Different types of Papago song were investigated by Bahr who spoke on rattlesnake songs, by Giff (a member of the Gila River Indian Community) who spoke on Swallow songs of gratitude, and by Haefer who dealt with songs of the Papago Celkona cycle. Chicano song was analyzed by Nilsen who examined certain dead metaphors in song lyrics and folk literature. Ramírez studied the lexicon and syntax of Chicano songs, while Candelaria incorporated the use of acoustic spectra of musicolinguistic articulations into her study. Finally, Reyna dealt with issues involved in the identification of Chicano song lyrics.

Varieties of English were described in a symposium and a panel session. Leap discussed cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences in Tewa Indian English; Vera Cruz considered Filipino English, and Underwood Texas English. In the panel session, the diversity of the varieties was discussed at length. Dillard's long panel statement addresses outside influences on the speech of the West and continues a theme found in other SWALLOWS.

The keynote speaker for the Conference was Rudolph Troike, currently Deputy Director of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. He addressed the need for an interdisciplinary approach to the treatment of meaning. His paper outlined a coherent framework for the humanistic and theoretical concerns for linguistics in the 1980's.

A morning was dedicated to the important topic of literacy among Spanish/English and Native American bilinguals. McQuade discussed factors that might affect performance on compositions, while Mejías' presentation centered on problems and issues involved in teaching Spanish to native speakers. Montgomery explicated an "indigenous" method for teaching Native American languages, and Spolsky and Irvine dealt with specific sociolinguistic variables which have bearing upon the acceptance of literacy in the vernacular by Native Americans.

The pedagogical/linguistic interface was treated in a number of ways. The domain of cognition was investigated by Stahl with the objective of developing a functional model for learning. The Stovalls discussed certain dichotomies evident in preschool enrichment programs. Villarreal analyzed the complexity of Spanish syntactic structures from the perspective of their readability, whereas Webb discussed communication problems using colloquial Spanish in the sometimes-technical settings of health-care situations. Rogers and Haltresht outlined a series of activities appropriate to the teaching of reading English as a second language.

In addition to investigating language in terms of its use/acquisition, and its relationship to teaching, a number of papers were also devoted to language maintenance. Read looked at the issue of language maintenance and language shift by proposing a comprehensive framework for their joint analysis. Floyd discussed implications for language change by investigating the use of verbs in Southwestern Spanish, and Sánchez-Sadek set forth certain principles for teaching language for maintenance.

On the final day of the workshop, specific manifestations of language contact were the topic of sessions on code-switching and theoretical issues in bilingualism. In an interesting presentation, Córdova examined predictability of code-switching in poetry based on a syntactic analysis. Sánchez' presentation was concerned with code-switching patterns in bilingual Chicano family interactions. Elías-Olivares presented a descriptive paper on what she calls "mixed Spanish" or español mixtureado, and criticized the tendency by some investigators to attribute certain characteristics of this variety to English influence when such is evidently not the case. Valdés-Fallis and Pino investigated compliment responses among Mexican-American bilinguals, and observed that such responses often differed from those which are customary in monolingual settings.

Contact situations were also studied in terms of bilingual phonological manifestations (Elerick) and from the perspective of deletion rules and transference (Sobin). Contact contexts and linguistic diffusion in the Arizona Tewa community were the subject of an interesting presentation by Kroskrity. Warner, in a theoretical essay, offered suggestions for an overall descriptive format of bilingual speech.

The final session of SWALLOW VIII was devoted to the description of Spanish. Neologistic palatal +ar verbs in Mexican/American Spanish were studied by Sharp and Cotton, who provide an extensive listing of these forms. Gutiérrez described language use in the New Mexican village of Martíneztown, while Merz identified and analyzed English sounds found in Tucson Spanish.

SWALLOW VIII, besides publishing nearly all papers and panel discussions presented at the conference, also includes the initial publication of Pima prose, as contained in the paper by Giff. A Pima indian, Mr. Giff is a member of the Gila River Community. His oral presentation followed the symposium on Native American speech moderated by Lujan, and included the singing of six Swallow songs. During the workshop, a song-session for all interested parties was graciously hosted by Donald Bahr, of the Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University. Over 40 Swallow songs, representing a major, 200-song Pima song cycle, were rendered by Mr. Giff and his associates at Bahr's home during a most enjoyable and informal evening session.

* * * * *

It is our opinion that SWALLOW VIII was unusually successful, and, in addition to the usual kinds of presentations, contained a number of novel features which we hope might be incorporated into future workshops. Certainly the number, quality and diversity of papers and topics presented far exceeded those of previous years. We hope that you will find these Proceedings a useful and current adjunct to your research library, and would like to take this opportunity to invite you to participate in future SWALLOWS. As was the initial 1972 meeting, SWALLOW IX will be held at the University of Texas at El Paso in April or May, 1980.

We have been fortunate to have received enthusiastic support from SWALLOW VIII participants, and from the Departments of Anthropology, English, and Foreign Languages at the Arizona State University. The ASU College of Liberal Arts, in the person of Dean Guido Weigand, offered both moral and financial assistance, here gratefully acknowledged. Geoffrey Clark, General Series Editor of the ASU ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH PAPERS, arranged for the publication of the SWALLOW proceedings in the ARP series. The organizational skills of the Arizona State University Conference Services allowed the workshop to run as smoothly and efficiently as it did. We also wish to express our sincere gratitude to the extremely competent and patient staff of the University Secretarial Services. Finally, many students and faculty members provided us with their unstinting assistance. To all of these, and to those persons or organizations inadvertently omitted, we, as conference organizers and as Volume Editors, would like to express our heartfelt appreciation.

Florence Barkin
Department of Foreign Languages
Arizona State University

Elizabeth A. Brandt
Department of Anthropology
Arizona State University

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

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ON INTEGRATING MEANING IN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE: TOWARD A PROGRAM FOR LINGUISTICS IN THE 1980'S

Rudolph C. Troike
National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education

It is within the memory of some readers that the discussion of meaning in linguistics was rejected as mentalistic, dismissed as uninteresting, or deferred to a time when linguists had become omniscient or work on syntax had been completed, whichever came first. Today meaning has shifted from a proscribed to a prescribed status, with one approach to linguistic analysis even labeled 'generative semantics'. Some measure of the burgeoning interest in the subject of meaning may be gained from the fact that no less than five books entitled Semantics written within the framework of linguistics have appeared in recent years (by J. Fodor, Kempson, Leech, Lyons, and the Nilsens).

Meaning has also engaged the interest of other social scientists and humanists, including psychologists, sociologists, philosophers, and anthropologists. An uncounted number of books, articles and even journals have appeared in the last few years containing in their titles such terms as meaning, symbol, semantics, communication, or semiotics. Anthropologists have been notable in their contributions to this outpouring, with such works as Culture and Communication (Leach), Meaning in Anthropology (Basso and Selby, eds.), Symbolic Anthropology (Schneider, et al, eds.), and Explorations in Language and Meaning: Towards a Semantic Anthropology (Crick). Some of the interest among American anthropologists derives from the views of Goodenough (1956), who proposed that culture be considered an ideational system consisting primarily of concepts rather than objects. In this vein, Kay (1970) states that ethnography aims to discover

> ... the system of meanings--the tacit theory of the world--lying behind a language and its usage ... by which people organize their world.

He defines the goal of ethnographic semantics as being

> ... to understand human cognition through analysis of the cognitive content of linguistic expressions.

The British anthropologist Edmund Leach (1976) taking his departure to some extent from Levi-Strauss, has proclaimed the slogan "culture communicates", which he explains by saying 'the complex interconnectedness of events conveys information to those who participate in the events', and he speaks of 'decoding messages embedded in the complexities'.

In sharp contrast to this broad perspective, the linguist Geoffrey Leech (1974), after stating that he sees semantics 'as one branch of linguistics', goes on to declare:

> ... meaning can best be studied as a linguistic phenomenon in its own right, not as something 'outside language' ... One of the keynotes to a modern linguistic approach to semantics is that there is no escape from language...

Janet Fodor echoes this when she writes that the goal of semantics is

> the construction of a theory of meaning and meaning related phenomena in natural languages... Semantics ... is thus an area within linguistics...(1)

According to Lyons (1977:2,590), what he calls 'microlinguistic semantics',

> ... would be restricted to the analysis of the meaning of maximally decontextualized system-sentences...,

limiting attention to such matters as sense and reference, speech act functions, implications and presuppositions between sentence-propositions, and their validation in terms of truth conditions. Finally, Leech (1976: 59) argues that it is essential to distinguish

> between 'knowledge of language' and 'knowledge of the real world'... the price of ignoring this distinction is to enlarge the sphere of semantics ... into the impossibly vast study of everything that is to be known about the universe in which we live.

This narrow, restrictive perspective on the nature of language and meaning has not gone unchallenged, as the following statement shows:

> The lack of a clear and precise view of linguistic function and of the nature of meaning has been, I believe, the cause of the relative sterility of much otherwise excellent linguistic theorizing... language is essentially rooted in the reality, the ... life and customs of a people, and ... cannot be explained without constant reference to these broader contexts of verbal utterance.

The same writer goes on the declare:

> Now I claim that the Ethnographer's perspective is the one relevant and real for the formation of fundamental linguistic conceptions...

The author of this serious challenge to the limited view of semantics being taken in much current linguistic work is Bronislaw Malinowski, the British anthropologist sometimes called the 'father of functionalism', and his remarks were written over fifty years ago in a now rarely-cited essay entitled 'The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages' (1923), which should be required reading for all linguists. While we would perhaps reject some of Malinowski's evolutionary views on 'primitive languages' (although the work of Hymes, Berlin and Kay, Cole, and Brown and Witkowski suggests that some of his ideas may deserve serious reconsideration), his formulation of a model for the study of meaning is advanced even for today, and still merits careful examination for the insights it may suggest. Just as syntactic theory advanced by taking a step back to consider the work of Jespersen, so semantic theory may be helped to advance by first taking a step back to examine the work of Malinowski.

Two major premises underly much of Malinowski's approach to meaning(326):

1) 'the study of language needs an ethnographic background of general culture', and
2) 'linguistics must be a section, indeed the most important one, of a general science of culture'.

This places linguistics--and with it, the study of meaning--fully within the domain of anthropology.

Malinowski illustrated his approach by providing an extended analysis of a short text from Kiriwina (the language of the Trobriand Islanders of New Guinea whose culture he studied), and demonstrating (300)

> ... how helpless one is in attempting to open up the meaning of a statement by mere linguistic means; and ... what sort of additional knowledge, besides verbal equivalence, is necessary in order to make the utterance significant.

His principal thesis is given in the form of the knowledge the listener must have in order to be able to interpret the text:

> ... he would have first to be informed about the situation in which these words were spoken. He would need to have them placed in their proper setting of native culture (301).

The central concepts in Malinowski's model were (1) the recognition of the situated nature of speech as part of a continuum with other modes of communication, (2) the essential nature of total context, including cultural contexts, in interpreting the meaning of utterances, and (3) the basic functional nature of language as a mode of action.

Malinowski's theory of meaning is perhaps best summarized in the following statements:

> ... the meaning of the expression ... is determined only by taking it in the context of the whole utterance. This latter again, becomes only intelligible when it is placed within the context of situation, if I may be allowed to coin an expression. The conception of meaning as contained in an utterance is false and futile. A statement, spoken in real life, is never detached from the situation in which it has been uttered... Exactly as ... a word without linguistic context is a mere figment..., so in the reality of a spoken living tongue, the utterance has no meaning except in the context of situation (306,307).

Although some linguists have treated features of context and use under the rubric of pragmatics, others such as Kempson (1977), following Chomsky, have continued to relegate these features to a theory of performance. Even within pragmatics, there is a strong tendency to limit the treatment to types of speech acts (following Austin and Searle), and to concentrate on those aspects which are susceptible to precise formalization.

There is a danger that delimiting the scope of linguistics in this way may repeat the mistakes of the past and guarantee the triviality of much of its results. This is not to say that significant work cannot still be done under such constraints, for it clearly can be and is. Various formal logics constitute serious claims about linguistic universals, and much can be learned through exploring their application, and enriching it with insights from comparative linguistic experience. But many of the higher-level phenomena which determine the conditions for language use and interpretation will in the process be excluded from the analysis, which may be weakened and perhaps even vitiated as a result.

Despite Hymes' call for a 'socially constituted linguistics', there has been little response within linguistics itself. Perhaps surprisingly, it has been within sociology, notably in the works of Goffman (1967,1978), Cicourel (1974), and Sacks (1967), that some of the most significant attention to Malinowski's 'language as a mode of action' has taken place. Part of the fallacy in discourse analysis of following Joos' axiom that 'text signals its own structure' is that what is not said may be more significant than what is said. As Cicourel notes (1974:97-98):

> The member experiences far more than he can describe,... and his descriptions of what happened carry the presumption that others will attribute unstated elements to his remarks. The description must provide the speaker and hearer with a basis for recovering or imagining the experiences that went into the creation of the account. Native speakers and hearers are well-versed in recalling, inventing or imagining the acceptable normative elements which shaped the descriptive account...

At the very least, contextual redundancy may affect the content of discourse. In a particularly striking example, Halliday (1978:33) cites a discussion by Ure (1971) of Russian research on register:

> The recording was of people frying potatoes, and frying potatoes was what they were talking about; but since, it seems, neither frying nor potatoes were represented in the text, the recording was a mystification to all who had not been in the kitchen at the time.

In addition, lack of overt linguistic action, i.e. silence, may be communicatively significant as recognized in Basso's (1970) work or such folk-statements as 'his silence spoke volumes'. It follows from these observations that a research program which ignores Malinowski's 'context of situation' and focuses only upon overt spoken (or written) text, is doomed to insufficiency.

One current approach which lies partly in anthropology and partly in linguistics and in many respects comes closest to fulfilling Malinowski's criteria for an adequate linguistic analysis is Dell Hymes' 'ethnography of communication' (1964). It was Hymes' perception of the failure of formal linguistics to cope with some of the most significant questions regarding language that led to the formulation of this approach. Most importantly, it seeks to recognize all of the culturally defined or determined circumstances in a given community (Cicourel's 'normal forms') which govern the production and interpretation of linguistic and other communicative behavior.

The goals of this approach are essentially to discover and describe what a member of a community must know in order to be able to perform appropriately (and interpret the performance of others) in a range of culturally specific settings. Far too few studies utilizing this approach have been carried out as yet, and we still lack anything approaching a complete ethnography of communication for a single community. Moreover, it is evident that this approach has thus far had little impact on work in the formalistically oriented tradition of semantics or pragmatics, despite the fact that writers on these topics must draw on their own (and their readers') presupposed cultural knowledge of possible and appropriate forms and interpretations. Much more work along the lines indicated by Hymes, to make explicit what has been largely presupposed or not recognized in our own or other cultures, must form an important part of a research agenda for the coming decade.

I believe that in the future there must be much more openness within linguistics to insights from other fields, especially anthropology and sociology, if linguistic work is to escape triviality. There are two classic ways within the scientific enterprise to approach a subject, from the top or from the bottom, neither of which is or should be mutually exclusive. We have long recognized the weakness of the structuralist approach in rigidly insisting on working only from the bottom up, for as higher levels were reached it became apparent that lower level phenomena could be predicted from or were overridden by higher level factors, but not necessarily vice versa. Recently, Schmerling (1976) has shown that the Chomsky-Halle Sound Pattern of English (1968) rules for sentence-stress placement, which applied to 'maximally decontextualized system-sentences' (which exist if at all only as citation forms), are overridden by contextual factors when they occur in real discourse. The perpetuation of this 'bottom to top' approach in semantics/pragmatics, attempting to hold all factors constant and experimentally test the effect of adding one complicating variable at a time, while desirable and productive of useful insights, runs the reductionist risk of creating analytical artifacts in the fashion of structuralist phonemics, a risk that can be avoided only if we also insist on the validity and indeed the necessity of pursuing other approaches at the same time.

In addition to the ethnographic-descriptive approach which Hymes has contributed from anthropology, and which is essential for the definition of the 'normal forms' which guide and inform individual behavior and interaction, there is another approach which, I believe, deserves more attention than it has received thus far in linguistics or anthropology, and should become more prominent in the decade of the 1970's. This is the phenomenological or constructionist approach. We have been schooled in the social sciences to abstract away from the unique, the real, to a general characterization in which all events and individuals are but tokens of some type. Indeed, the very notions of grammar or culture or rules for speaking are central to the genius of linguistics or anthropology to discern and describe from amidst the cacophony of real life as it is concretely observed and experienced. But these two fields are sometimes also called the most humanistic of the social sciences, and it is this humanistic face of our profession for which I should like to make a plea in the study of meaning.

In this perspective, meaning is not just a fixed object, set of features, action, event, or whatever static concept may be suggested. Rather it is emergent--coming into being in the process of interaction (including that between writer and reader)--and dynamic, constantly undergoing addition, revision, and restructuring as new uses, new information, new associations or linkages, or new terms are introduced by interactants in the course of their negotiations. The constant tendencies toward homeostasis in our perception and ordering of our universe are a significant aspect of this emergent/dynamic characteristic of meaning. Perhaps the surprising thing is that meaning does not change any more rapidly than it does.

Going a step further, I should like to propose that as part of the emergent aspect of meaning, interaction may produce a synergistic effect. The cooperation involved in carrying out an interaction may be considered a type of synergy--a working together, as different muscles may do to achieve a given purpose. When the result is more than the sum of its parts, as when two medicines taken together have a greater effect than their simple addition would predict, the result is said to be synergistic. If any reader finishes this paper with a new idea perhaps stimulated by, but not given in the paper, this will be an example of synergism. All analogy and metaphor may in fact be thought of as examples of synergism.

All of this is not to say that we should immediately abandon those lines of inquiry which have been productive in the past and uniformly adopt a phenomenological or existential mode of analysis and description as our sole direction of research. Language is too complex and multifaceted, and we are still too much in the position of the blind men and the elephant, to declare that any single approach is superior to all others. But if we are to avoid the risk evident in current linguistic approaches to semantics, of mistaking the trunk for the whole animal and thereby trivializing the study of meaning, we must take Sapir's injunction seriously:

> ... if it is desired to have linguistics contribute a significant share to our understanding of human behavior, it must ... boldly essay to bring every cultural pattern back to the living content from which it has been abstracted in the first place--back to its social matrix.

This, then, is a program for linguistics in the 1980's.

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I

FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

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ABSTRACTS

AMASTAE, JON (Pan American University) THE EFFECTS OF FIRST LANGUAGE: This paper will explore the effects of first language on other aspects of linguistic behavior, including language usage patterns, self ratings of capabilities, and language attitudes. The data have come from a 133 item Sociolinguistic Background Questionnaire administered to a stratified systematic sample (n=679) comprising 7.6% of the students attending Pan American University. First language patterns analyzed include first language understood, first language spoken, first language read, and first language written. In general it appears that significant correlations, especially with regard to first language and language capability ratings do not depend on which language is learned first, but upon a clear, early establishment of skills in a language, whether it is the temporally first or second language.

HUDELSON, SARAH and EDELSKY, CAROLE (Arizona State University) ACQUIRING SPANISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE IN A BILINGUAL CLASSROOM: This research examined the acquisition of Spanish as a second language by English speaking first graders enrolled in a bilingual program. Five children were targeted: three anglos and two basically English speaking Mexican Americans. Using a combination of weekly participant observations in the classroom and infrequent audio-taped peer play sessions, answers were sought to questions: who uses Spanish with the nonSpanish speakers, for what reasons, what are the responses of the nonSpanish speakers, how much Spanish as a second language is acquired over the course of the year, and is substantially more acquired by the children who have previous exposure to Spanish in the home (the Mexican-American children) than by those who have not? Our results indicate a classroom context where the adults use Spanish with nonSpanish speakers for limited functions but where Spanish speaking children do not address their nonSpanish speaking peers in Spanish; where the nonSpanish speakers sometimes take the learner role but sometimes do not; and where very little acquisition of Spanish occurs for either Anglo or Mexican American children. We suggest that the markedness of Spanish may account for these results.

ORR, MARGARET H. (Arizona State University) SOME CONSIDERATIONS IN THE LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT OF BILINGUAL CHICANO CHILDREN: A PILOT STUDY: This study was undertaken as a general investigation of some of the theoretical and practical issues involved in the language assessment of bilingual Chicano children. As bilingual programs continue to expand, more language assessment instruments for bilingual children are being developed. I was interested in using several with a small group of children and noting some of the problems that might arise in the children's assessment and language placement. Children (n=10) in bilingual programs were assessed with four language assessment instruments currently in use in Phoenix area schools (Bilingual Syntax Measure, Basic Inventory of Natural Language, James Language Dominance Test, and Language Assessment Scales). Each child's results were compared for the four assessments (the children's results were not compared) and discrepancies were noted. Of particular interest were the discrepancies between assessment results and observed or reported language use. Discrepancies in results were found to be at least partially attributable to the assessment instruments themselves. Outstanding characteristics and problems of each instrument were noted; these often appeared to effect the assessment results and could produce discrepancies. Any discrepancies could, of course, have an effect on the child's correct placement in a language program. Two of the theoretical issues that were found to be of particular importance were domains of language use and restricted vs. elaborated code usage. As an outgrowth of a class project, this study was done on a very small scale. It could, however, serve as a model for future research.

FIRST LANGUAGE

Jon Amastae
Pan American University

0. In many studies of bilingualism and bilinguals it is considered important to establish the "first language" of a speaker or of the community. Often "first language" (in a temporal sense) and "dominant language" are equated--falsely. In this paper, I will discuss first language data in a sample (stratified, systematic, n=679) of 7.6% students attending Pan American University in Edinburg, Texas. The data will include not only basic data on first language, but also indications of correlations among (temporally) first language and other aspects of linguistic background and behavior, such as patterns of usage, capability ratings, and language attitudes. In short, the aim here will be to provide a more comprehensive and theoretical notion of the term "first language."

0.1 The data for this investigation have come from a 133 item Sociolinguistic Background Questionnaire modeled in some respects after one used at the University of Texas at El Paso (Brooks, Brooks, Goodman, and Ornstein 1972), and covering several areas, including general background, SES, family history, academic background and aspirations, language use patterns, language fluency rating scales, and linguistic attitudes. Parts of these questionnaire data have already been analyzed and presented in Amastae 1978, MS a, and b.

The sample has the following general characteristics. Of the 679 students surveyed 76.7% had Spanish surnames (See Appendix A for the method of selection of the sample and for information on the analysis of the data.) Surname is a substantially accurate but not perfect indicator of actual language background, since 2.1% of those with Spanish surnames (SS) claimed to speak no Spanish, and 9.1% of those with non-Spanish surnames (NSS) claimed to speak Spanish (3.8% of those with non-Spanish surnames claimed to have either learned Spanish first or to have learned both languages simultaneously).

The data also reveal certain trends of emigration. 8.9% of the SS were born in Mexico. 36.3% of the SS students' fathers were born in Mexico, and 34.9% of their mothers. This includes the SS respondents who were themselves born in Mexico; of the US born SS respondents, 31% have fathers or mothers born in Mexico. In terms of schooling, some 26.7% of their fathers attended school in Mexico, and 29.2% of their mothers.

1.0 The vast majority of the SS sample learned to understand and speak Spanish first, but to read and write English first (TABLE 1).[2] It would be a mistake, however, to think that TABLE 1 tells us everything we need to know about the population under study insofar as first language is concerned. There are several interesting and significant relationships among first language and various other items of background.

A greater proportion of males (73% vs. 64% of females) report understanding and speaking Spanish first. Sex is not, however, a factor in whether a subject learned to read and write first in Spanish/English. Place of Birth (POB) is, as might be expected, a factor related to first language. While most (74%) of the SS sample learned Spanish first or both languages at the same time (14%) as would be expected, significantly more of those born in the Rio Grande Valley understood and spoke English first, (as opposed to those born in Mexico, of whom 93% spoke Spanish first.) On the other hand, also expectedly, while most of those born in the Rio Grande Valley learned to read (88%) and write (90%) English first, a significant proportion of those born in Mexico learned to read and write Spanish first (66% and 66% respectively).

Location of schooling is similarly important. Those attending elementary school in the Rio Grande Valley are more likely to have first understood and spoken Spanish or both languages first, while those attending elementary school in the U.S., but out of the Rio Grande Valley, are more likely to have understood and spoken English first (18% as opposed to 9% of those who attended school in the Rio Grande Valley). The picture is somewhat different for literacy. While the majority attending elementary school in the Rio Grande Valley may have been likely to speak and understand Spanish first, they are overwhelmingly likely to have learned reading (86%) and writing (88%) first in English.

Not only are the respondents' POB and place of schooling important, but also parents' POB and schooling are as well, given identity of respondents' birthplace.[3] Those U.S. born respondents whose fathers were born in the U.S. are more likely to have first spoken English than those whose fathers were born in Mexico (16% vs. 6.2%). An identical trend exists for those U.S. born respondents whose mothers were born in the U.S. vs. those whose mothers were born in Mexico. We note again the separation of speaking/understanding and reading/writing. Moreover, those U.S. born SS respondents whose fathers and mothers were born in Mexico are somewhat more likely to have learned to read and write Spanish first, while those whose parents were born in the U.S. are much more likely to have learned reading and writing first in English (91.7% vs. 80.7% for reading).

This pattern also holds when the location of parents' schooling is considered. Those U.S. born respondents whose parents were schooled in Mexico are much more likely to have spoken, understood, read and written Spanish first than those whose parents were schooled in the U.S. (although the majority of all SS respondents learned to read and write English first). The difference in this likelihood is about 12-20%, as, for example, 3.2% of those whose fathers were born in the U.S. learned to read first in Spanish, vs. 15.4% of those with Mexican born fathers. Again, this excludes those respondents who were themselves born and schooled in Mexico, so as to isolate the effects of place of parents' education. It is impossible to tell directly from the questionnaire data, but presumably these respondents learned these skills at home directly from their parents, rather than in schools, since their education would have predated all but the very first few experiments with bilingual education.

Also of some importance is the amount of education parents have had. Generally, those respondents whose fathers who have had more education in the U.S. are more likely to have understood and spoken Engish first (7.8% of those whose fathers had less than eight years of schooling spoke English vs 42.9% of those whose fathers had more than twelve years of school), as are those whose fathers who have had more education in Mexico: None of those whose fathers had less than eight years of schooling spoke English first vs. 22.2% of those whose fathers have more than twelve years. Again, the picture is somewhat different for literacy skills, and clouded a bit by the very small sizes when all the relevant factors are controlled. U.S. born and educated respondents with Mexican-educated fathers are more likely to have read and written in Spanish first only if the father had at least 12 years of schooling in Mexico (TABLE 2).

Amount of mothers' education is not significant for understanding or speaking first in either language, but it is important for literacy skills. The point at which amount of mothers' education (in Mexico) is an important effect in first language written or read is 12 years, as it is for fathers. There seems to be a slight tendency, though, for the same sort of dynamic to exist for U.S. educated mothers as well though it is difficult to tell exactly because of the small numbers involved here.

2.0 First language itself appears to be related to other aspects of linguistic behavior, including reported language usage patterns, self ratings of capabilities, and linguistic attitudes.

2.1 Generally, first language patterns carry over into most adult domains of usage. This statement must be qualified, however, by consideration of other factors already known to be important: The difference between passive (understanding, reading) and active (speaking, writing) language uses, the differences between non-literate (understanding, speaking and literate (reading, writing) uses, and the difference between public and private domains of usage.

While the majority of this bilingual sample understood and spoke Spanish first and uses more Spanish in the home domain (TABLE 3), there understandably is a significant tendency for those few who understood and spoke English first to use more English in the home, although Spanish is still the dominant language for home use, as 64.9% of those who spoke English first still report using all or mostly English in the home.[4] This pattern also exists for other domains (though again, recall that relatively few of the bilingual sample understood English first).[5] There is no association between first language understood and spoken and a preference for reading in one or the other language since the majority of the sample has been educated in English, regardless of first language spoken, and the small proportion of the sample educated in Mexico is not large enough to alter the total sample.

Also interesting is the function of the category Both with regard to usage in various domains. In the Home and Work domain Both tends to cluster with Spanish, while in all other domains it clusters with English. That is, those respondents who report understanding and speaking both languages first behave like those claiming English first (they show a preference for English in all domains but Home and Work). This split could, of course, have several explanations, ranging from a difficulty with the term Both[6] to an actual division in the function of the two languages for many bilingual speakers. This is also another reflection of the fact that Spanish is the dominant Home language regardless of first language. That the Work domain clusters with it supports the interpretation in Amastae MS b that the bilingual situation under study shows no complete shift from Spanish to English.

There is no association between first language read or written and language preferred for home use, since again, Spanish is overwhelmingly the home language for the entire bilingual sample. There is, however, an association between first language read and written and usage in all other domains in that those respondents who read and wrote in Spanish first tend to prefer more Spanish usage in all domains except the home domain. TABLES 4A-B show data for usage in the educational domain, which shows the pattern most clearly, insofar as it is the domain most keyed to English, as TABLE 3 demonstrates. This is particularly notable in the Reading domain where initial training in literacy skills in a language seems to have lasting effect.

Some additional remarks must be made here. Again, in a fashion parallel to that noted for speaking and understanding, very few of the bilingual sample actually read and wrote Spanish first. We surmise that these few are those same respondents discussed in earlier sections who were schooled in Mexico. It is possible, however, that we may be seeing the very first effects of bilingual education locally, since the first experiments in the area occurred around 1965. Thus, in discussing clear effects of first language upon subsequent language usage in various domains, we are actually talking about relatively few respondents, whether we see a clear preference for English or Spanish.

2.2 First language also appears influential in the way respondents rate their capabilities in each language. In general, bilingual respondents tend to rate their capabilities higher in the language which they first acquired. But this is not universally true, as noted below, since there are several other influencing factors, such as the distinction between active and passive skills, and that between literate and nonliterate skills.

In an overall sense, respondents tend to judge themselves more fluent in the language in which they first acquired skill (TABLES 5 A-D).[7] We note, however, that the proportions are considerably different for those who only spoke and understood Spanish first than for those who also read and wrote Spanish first. The latter are much more likely to judge themselves more fluent in Spanish. But the matter is not this simple, as Tables 5 C-D show. Rather large proportions of those who read and wrote first in both languages rate themselves equally fluent in both languages. Evidently it is not a matter of one language or the other, but a matter of early, effective training in a language, or in two languages, which has lasting effects in respondents' feelings of fluency.

More specifically, those who understood and spoke English first tend to report a higher capability estimation for English (Advanced/Native

Speaker category) than those who report understanding only Spanish first, who are more likely to rate their abilities as Intermediate. In the Advanced/Native Speaker category for speaking, understanding, and reading English fall 70%, 78%, and 83% respectively of those who spoke English first. The figures are 52%, 60%, and 61% respectively for those who spoke Spanish first. A similar trend exists for the estimation of ability to write English, except that all respondents tend to rate their English writing abilities slightly lower than their other abilities (cf. Amastae 1978), as only 62% of those who spoke English first rate their English writing capabilities at the Advanced/Native speaker level.

Respondents who understood Spanish first are more likely to rate their abilities to speak (37%) and understand (49%) Spanish at the advanced level than those who understood English languages first (4% and 37% for speaking and understanding Spanish at the Advanced level). Those who understood Spanish first were more likely to rate their reading and writing skills in Spanish at the Advanced level (36% and 28% respectively), while those who understood English first were more likely to place themselves in the None/Elementary category (39% for reading; 47% for writing). In fact, in all these correlations involving capability ratings, the None/Elementary categories are selected by respondents only with reference to literacy skills in Spanish, which reflects the overwhelming use of English in schooling. (Recall that even for these respondents, Spanish tends to be the dominant home language.)

Respondents who claimed to have understood and spoken Both languages first are distributed variously with respect to those who claimed either English or Spanish first on the rating of capability. In rating their English skills, those who claimed to have Understood and Spoken both languages first cluster with those who claimed English first. In rating their Spanish capabilities, however, this group functions as a true middle, being more likely to rate their abilities to Speak, Understand, Read, and Write Spanish at the Intermediate level. It is this group, of course, which will require the most attention in future studies.

First language read is not significantly related to capability rating in English skills, but is associated with ratings of Spanish skills in that those who read Spanish first tend to rate all Spanish skills higher than those who read English. Of those who read Spanish first, 76%, 74%, 63%, and 63% claim Advanced Native Speaker competence in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing Spanish, vs. 37.3%, 23.8%, 25%, 18.5% in the same categories for those who read English first. The lack of association between first language read and ratings of English skills has no immediately obvious explanation, especially since there is a significant association between first language written and all capability ratings in both languages.Of those who have written first in English, 66%, 60%, 68%, and 54% rate the English Speaking, Understanding, Reading, and Writing skills at the Advanced level vs. 50%, 34%, 42% and 32% of those who wrote first in Spanish. In this those who wrote Both languages first report capability estimations similar to those who wrote first in English. And those who have written first in Spanish rate the same skills in Spanish more highly. Of those who wrote first in Spanish, 82%, 78%, 72%, and 74% claim Advanced capability for understanding, speaking, reading, and writing Spanish respectively, vs. only 38%, 25%, 25%, and

18% for those who wrote English first. In this case, those who wrote Both languages first form a true middle with 63%, 57%, 59% and 44% claiming Advanced capability.

In general, then, it seems that respondents who have clearly established skills in one language first are likely to rate their capabilities in that language highly. Because of the indeterminacies in the Both categorization and lack of knowledge about other aspects of the respondents' schooling and training, however, it is not clear that such a positive rating of capabilities in one language necessarily involves a negative rating in the other . Nor is it clear how the development of such school skills are reading and writing relate to speaking, or what the relationship is between capability ratings and actual performance. It is often taken as established that feelings of confidence and high performance are related, but in this area of study such a connection is unestablished.

2.3 Correlations between first language and language attitudes are not nearly so pervasive as those between first language and usage patterns or capability ratings, but they exist nevertheless.

There are correlations between first language understood, spoken, read, and written and such judgments as more beautiful language, language preferred for talking to children, language generally preferred for use, resenting Mexican-Americans who discourage their children from speaking Spanish, and continued use of Spanish if the respondent left the Valley. Those who learned to Understand, Speak, Read, or Write Spanish first prefer generally Spanish for these uses, while those who learned English first prefer English, although in all cases the proportion of those who prefer both languages for all these hovers near 50%.

There are, however, no significant correlations between first language and the following other items measuring linguistic attitudes:

a) Language most advantageous to know
b) Language most advantageous to know in the Southwest
c) Language most advantageous to know in U.S.
d) Language in which it is easier to get a job
e) Do you think the younger generation is using less Spanish?
f) Do you think that those with no Spanish accent have more social success?
g) Do you think that those with no Spanish accent have an easier time finding a job?
h) Type of local Spanish (Formal style, Informal style, Southwest dialect, Border slang).
i) Type of local English (Formal style, Informal style, Southwest dialect, Border Slang).

The consistency with which some attitudinal items correlate with first language and others do not leads to a distinction between language attitudes which are more purely cultural and aesthetic as opposed to those related to pragmatic and economic concerns. In this case it seems incontrovertible that learning one language first engenders strong loyalty to that language on purely aesthetic and cultural grounds and that pragmatic concerns of an economic or social nature do little to alter this loyalty. (The matter is surely not either/or, however, since as discussed in Amastae MS b, speakers may have cultural/aesthetic loyalties to both languages.

3. It is obvious that knowing a language and using a language are correlates. Thus, first language may be defined not only as temporally first language, but also as first in importance. When we consider a bilingual population, we may see various patterns of language use, ranging from strict separation of functions or domains for each language to overlapping function, and covering, of course, all points in between, as shown in TABLE 3.

We have already considered correlations between temporally first language and such aspects of linguistic behavior as language usage and language capability. We can, in addition, consider language usage (by domain) as the primary variable and see what effect it has on such matters as linguistic capability ratings and linguistic attitudes.

It appears, just as common sense would dictate, that the more a respondent uses a language, the more confident he is of it - in almost all domains. Those who use more English at Home, in the Neighborhood, in Elementary School, in High School, in the University, at Work, or in Religion are much more likely to rate their capacity to Speak, Understand, Read, or Write English in the Advanced/Native Speaker categories than those who use more Spanish, who are more likely to give themselves an Intermediate rating on these skills (TABLE 6A). Conversely, those who use more Spanish at Home, in the Neighborhood, in Elementary School, in High School, in the University, or at Work are much more likely to rate themselves as possessing Intermediate or None-Elementary skills (TABLE 6B). However, the complexity of domain usage and its relationships with other factors is shown by the fact that 46.5% of all SS respondents judge themselves to have more overall fluency in English. And fluency is related to reported usage in that those who feel more fluent in English tend to use more English while those who feel more fluent in Spanish tend to use more Spanish, in all domains except the Home domain, where 89% of those who feel more fluent in English still report mostly Spanish.

There are a few exceptions to this general trend, a few of which are, for the moment, inexplicable. Use in Religion seems to be not related to rating of skills for Understanding, Reading, or Writing Spanish. Usage patterns in various media are not quite as consistently related to skill ratings as are other usage patterns. For example, while those who read more in Spanish are more likely to rate all capacities in Spanish higher than those who read more English, those who read more English do not rate all their English skills, but only their writing skills, significantly higher than those who read more Spanish. This asymmetry appears to be yet a further consequence of education in English.

Finally, those respondents who use more English in non-print media tend to rate themselves higher in Understanding English than those who use more Spanish, but not in Reading and Writing English, which is understandable. But the precise converse does not hold for Spanish. Those who use more Spanish in this domain rate themselves higher in Speaking, Reading, and Writing Spanish, but not in Understanding. This is apparently due to the passive nature of Understanding, which for many is the easiest skill to master in the language.

We see then that using a language and feeling confident in a language are inextricably intertwined. The data do not show that one causes the other (i.e., that a feeling of capability causes one to use the lanmore, or conversely, that using it more causes one to feel more capable in a language), but that use and a feeling of capability go together. It is also extremely important to note that using one language and the concommitant feeling of confidence in it do not entail a feeling of incapability in the other language, especially when different sorts of skills are considered. Thus, it seems perfectly normal for respondents who speak more Spanish to feel more capable speaking it,but who read more English to feel more confident in their reading English. These data appear to illustrate the complexities inherent in knowing and using two languages. The implications for teaching in a bilingual setting are obvious. First it is necessary to use a language to have capability in it; if we want students at any level to use language capably (it makes no difference which language and need not be limited to one), we simply must provide congenial, structured, and rigorous opportunities for them to use language. Second, the separations of domains in both usage and feelings of capability should lead us to examine some of our current expectations and practices in public education. It is a current practice in many bilingual areas of the Southwest to screen pupils at all levels for further language proficiency testing on the basis of language used at home. This may work somewhat for 6 year olds, who have had less time to learn two languages. But for secondary students in this area, it is obviously ineffective, since most will use Spanish predominantly in the home and will have developed many of the patterns discussed here. It is basically equivalent to simply identifying students for further testing only by surname. Capability (or a feeling of capability, assuming for the moment that they are roughly equivalent, cf. Fishman et al, 1971) and usage are related, but by domain. If we want to utilize usage to assess capability, then we need to ask about usage in that domain which concerns us.

4. Language usage patterns are also related to language attitudes, but not in the comprehensive way in which they are related to capability ratings. In general, we see the same split noted Amastae MSb between more purely cultural or aesthetic attitudes and attitudes which are rather more related to pragmatic and economic concerns. Thus, Home usage correlates with which language is thought to be more beautiful, language preferred for use with children, language preferred for general use, resenting Mexican-Americans who discourage their children from speaking Spanish, and an intention to continue speaking Spanish if living out of the Valley. In all of these, respondents who use more Spanish at Home favor English for them. Home usage is not, however, a significant factor in opinions on the advantages, social or economic, of using either language, or of the social or economic advantages of disadvantages of an accent, or of the quality of Englsih or Spanish of the area.

As Home usage is related to the above attitudinal factors, so are usage patterns in other domains related generally to the same items. The few differences in the way Home domain and the other domains correlate with attitudes do not appear to alter the overall picture much, especially since they tend to occur in those domains such as University or Work where other factors are strong influences on usage.

5.0 Conclusions. What may these data lead us to conclude concerning the matter of "first language" in general? How can we tell, in short, what a bilingual speaker's "first langugae" is? Is it necessary to even have a "first language"? I believe the data presented here show the complexities of the issue.

For the bulk of the sample studies, Spanish is clearly the first language-in a very limited sense. It is first to be spoken, and it remains the first choice at home. But it is not the first language at school for reading or writing, or in any other domain, as a matter of fact. In fact, one would almost have to say that for this sample, the dominant language is English, if usage is any indication.

Usage aside for a moment, what can we say about how the respondents feel about their language? On one hand Spanish is felt to be the first language, especially in the way in which first languge spoken correlates with cultural identity. But first skills in a language do not necessarily translate immediately to a feeling of capability in the language. What appears to be more important is the nature of those first skills. If they are strongly established, and especially include reading and writing, then the respondent is more likely to view himself as being capable in the language. Finally, it is particularly important to note that this dynamic exists not only for those who received especially strong training in either Spanish or English, but also for those who received strong training in both languages first. It may indeed be possible to have two first languages.

Footnotes

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[2] Some of these data in §1.0 are repeated from Amastae MS, as they bear on the issues presented here. In reporting results in this manuscript, space considerations prevent the inclusion of all relevant tables. All differences between groups are significant at .05 by the Chi-square test, however.

[3] In discussing the effects of parents' POB and locations of education it is necessary to control for respondents' POB and location of education to avoid confounding factors, since it is overwhelmingly likely that Mexican born respondents' parents would have been born in Mexico.

[4] The questionnaire asked respondents to rate their linguistic usage on a five point scale of 'Mostly Spanish,' '½Spanish-½English,' 'Mostly English,' and 'Only English.' Since a five way division would produce too many cells in the cross tabulation, however, what is reported here is a calculation with categories conflated in to extremes of 'Mostly Spanish' vs 'Mostly English.'

[5] Total usage figures for each domain were obtained by taking a mean of the responses for all the questions in each domain block in Table 3 .

[6] Respondents could have interpreted Both to refer to either language, depending on a combination of topic/interlocutor, or to code-switching, which is the rapid alternation of the two languages. See Elías-Olivares (1977) for discussion of these sorts of problems of interpretation.

[7] The questionnaire asked respondents to rate their capabilities on a six point scale. Since this produces too many cells, however, what is reported here is a calcuation with categories conflated into extremes of no capacity VS native speaker capacity for the language fluency item in quesiton. An * indicates a similar conflation into three relevant categories, none, medium, and native speaker capacities, is also significant at at least the .05 level.

[8] Cf. fn 6.

Appendix A: Selection Procedures

The sample was chosen at the beginning of Fall semester 1976 by selecting classes out of the Fall class schedule. We calculated how many subjects would be necessary to achieve a sufficient sample size, calculated an average class size of the entire university, figured out how many classes we would need to include to be sure of reaching the requisite number, then chose every 40th class in the schedule. In this manner we selected a systematic sample representative of all divisions of the university, and all class levels. Instructors were contracted to arrange for a class time for the administration of the questionnaire; the questionnaires were administered throughout the Fall semester. The questionnaire data was punched directly into cards and analyzed via the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences on the DEC-10 computer at the PAU Computer Center.

We expected that, given the selection process used, we would encounter some students more than once. In reality there was very little duplication, since of 701 questionnaires given out, only 22 students were encountered twice. This indicates the efficacy of our selection procedure. In the administration of the quesionnaire students were informed of the general nature of the investigation and were told that their participation was entirely voluntary, and that all information collected would be held in strictest confidence. All cooperated cheerfully, though some chose not to answer, or could not answer, all questions. For this reason, there may be slight variations in the total of various breakdowns.

All of our statistical tests are crosstabs giving a probability via the Chi-square test. Though this test is not the most powerful statistical test available, it was chosen because of the overwhelming amount of nominal data and ordinal data elicited by the questionnaire. We decided, therefore, to use the method of analysis most suited to both types of data, which was the Chi-square test. Gamma is not reported, in contrast to some recent usage, since its validity now appears to be quesitonable (cf. Berry Jacobsen, and Martin 1976). Also, since the creation of too many cells is a problem in crosstabs, categories have been conflated where necessary. Correlations with large number of cells in the crosstabulation are reported as significant only where a second or third test with related categories conflated also shows significant correlations.

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	Spanish	Both	English
Understanding	70%	20%	10%
Speaking	74%	14%	12%
Reading	11%	7%	82%
Writing	10%	6%	84%

TABLE 1

FIRST LANGUAGE SKILLS FOR SS RESPONDENTS

	Spanish	Both	English
1-8	23 25.0%	9 9.8%	60 65.2%
9-12	8 34.8%	3 13.0%	12 52.2%
12+	8 88.9%	0 0%	1 11.1%

X^2 = df = 4 n = 124
p = .0028

TABLE 2

YEARS OF FATHERS' EDUCATION X 1st LANGUAGE READ
U.S. Born SS Respondents, Fathers Educated in Mexico

	% of SS Respondents Using				
Domain	Only Spanish	Mostly Spanish	½ Spanish and ½ English	Mostly English	Only English
Home, to parents	31.3	22.2	27.7	14.4	4.4
Home, from parents	43.7	23.7	22.2	8.0	2.8
Home, to grandparents	75.3	14.8	6.4	1.8	1.8
Home, from grandparents	80.5	13.1	3.3	1.5	1.5
Home, to siblings	7.8	7.8	40.6	31.6	12.2
Neighborhood, to friends	10.4	15.2	40.9	25.0	8.6
Shopping in neighborhood	5.0	7.4	36.1	33.5	18.0
Shopping downtown	3.0	3.6	35.1	37.1	21.1
Elementary school, outside class	8.4	14.4	33.7	24.8	18.6
High school, outside class	5.2	7.5	40.1	32.7	14.5
University, to friends	2.2	9.5	41.5	32.7	14.1
University, to acquaintances	.6	3.8	30.3	46.6	18.7
University, to bilingual professors	2.7	6.7	30.5	35.8	24.3
Work, to fellow employees	2.6	9.0	36.9	37.1	14.4
Church	8.5	15.8	29.1	29.5	17.1
Confession	8.5	4.6	8.8	27.8	50.3
Language religious leader uses	16.2	14.2	28.8	18.1	23.5
Praying	7.6	6.5	18.5	26.9	40.0
Visiting a border town in Mexico	41.1	35.2	19.7	2.8	1.3
Visiting the interior of Mexico	56.2	30.1	9.8	2.8	1.0
Watching T. V.	3.6	4.6	29.0	32.6	30.2
Listening to the radio	2.8	3.8	20.3	32.9	33.3
Movies	2.0	3.6	23.0	34.9	36.5
Reading newspapers	2.2	1.0	10.8	33.3	52.8
Reading books	1.4	.4	10.6	36.1	51.6
Reading magazines	1.6	.4	11.0	35.0	52.0
Writing to friends	4.0	2.2	5.2	30.6	57.9

TABLE 3

	Mostly Spanish	Mostly English
Spanish	17 58.6%	12 41.4%
Both	4 22.2%	14 77.8%
English	34 13.7%	214 86.3%

n = 295

X = 34.69 df = 2 p = .0000

TABLE 4A

1st LANGUAGE READ X TOTAL EDUCATIONAL USAGE*

	Mostly Spanish	Mostly English
Spanish	34 77.3%	10 22.7%
Both	13 54.2%	11 45.8%
English	114 39.0%	178 61.0%

n = 360

X^2 = 23.5 df = 2 p = .0000

TABLE 4B

1st LANGUAGE READ X WORK USAGE*

	Spanish	Both	English
Spanish	82 24.1%	130 38.2%	128 37.6%
Both	12 10.7%	35 31.3%	65 58.0%
English	2 4.2%	8 16.7%	38 79.2%

n = 500

$X^2 = 40.32$ df = 4 p = .0000

TABLE 5A

1st LANGUAGE UNDERSTOOD X LANGUAGE MORE FLUENT*

	Spanish	Both	English
Spanish	82 22.0%	142 38.2%	148 39.8%
Both	8 11.8%	23 33.8%	37 54.4%
English	6 9.6%	8 13.1%	47 77.0%

n = 501

$X^2 = 32.69$ df = 4 p = .0000

TABLE 5B

1st LANGUAGE SPOKEN X LANGUAGE MORE FLUENT*

	Spanish	Both	English
Spanish	32 57.1%	17 30.4%	7 12.5%
Both	9 26.5%	19 55.9%	6 17.6%
English	55 13.4%	137 33.3%	219 53.3%

n = 501

$X^2 = 79.38$ df = 4 p = .0000

TABLE 5C

1^{st} LANGUAGE READ X LANGUAGE MORE FLUENT*

	Spanish	Both	English
Spanish	36 70.6%	11 21.6%	4 7.8%
Both	4 14.3%	23 82.1%	1 3.6%
English	56 13.2%	139 32.9%	228 53.9%

n = 502

$X^2 = 132.41$ df = 4 p = .0000

TABLE 5D

1^{st} LANGUAGE WRITTEN X LANGUAGE MORE FLUENT*

% Claiming Advanced English Capacity in

	Using Mostly	Speaking	Understanding	Reading	Writing
Home	English	87.0	87.0	87.0	78.3
	Spanish	52.8	61.6	60.9	49.1
Neighborhood	English	70.0	74.0	74.9	64.3
	Spanish	31.3	47.6	51.6	29.7
Elem. Sch.	English	72.1	76.8	78.8	67.1
	Spanish	42.9	56.4	56.4	40.0
Sec. Sch.	English	67.7	71.3	72.8	63.2
	Spanish	35.8	51.6	50.0	32.8
University	English	67.7	72.7	73.8	62.3
	Spanish	17.6	25.6	35.3	14.7
Work	English	67.0	71.9	72.3	60.2
	Spanish	44.7	58.8	58.8	43.6
Religion	English	66.3	71.4	73.7	58.5
	Spanish	40.3	57.4	49.1	38.3

TABLE 6A

	Using Mostly	% Claiming Advanced English Capacity in			
		Speaking	Understanding	Reading	Writing
Home	English	9.1	22.7	27.3	22.7
	Spanish	37.7	48.8	35.5	28.5
Neighborhood	English	23.1	38.1	25.9	20.6
	Spanish	45.3	58.1	47.6	46.0
Elem. Sch.	English	24.9	37.6	37.6	20.3
	Spanish	46.4	60.9	60.9	39.1
Sec. Sch.	English	24.9	37.6	25.6	21.6
	Spanish	60.0	65.6	54.7	50.0
University	English	26.0	37.6	25.8	20.8
	Spanish	48.6	50.0	44.1	35.3
Work	English	24.6	36.1	25.3	20.1
	Spanish	55.1	60.4	56.3	47.9

TABLE 6B

ACQUIRING SPANISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE IN A BILINGUAL CLASSROOM

Sarah Hudelson and Carole Edelsky
Arizona State University

INTRODUCTION

Although childhood second language acquisition in naturalistic settings has been vigorously researched in recent years, rarely have researchers noted the socio-political context (and its ramifications) of that acquisition--a context wherein the language learners are almost always speakers of a non-dominant language and the target language is almost always the dominant language in that setting (Dulay and Burt, 1976; Fillmore, 1976a,b, Hatch, 1978; Peck, 1978). Therefore we asked: Can conclusions from studies where the target language is a minority language be generalized to all of second language acquisition? To begin to answer that question, during the 1977-78 school year we studied the acquisition of Spanish by Anglo children in a bilingual program. Targeting three first grade children, we combined biweekly taped peer play sessions and limited classroom observations (where we noted who used Spanish with our Ss, for what reasons and their responses). We found that except for rote counting and color names essentially no Spanish was acquired during the school year. We also found that in the classroom Spanish was not addressed, on a one to one basis, to our Ss, either by teacher or by peers.[1] We have suggested (Edelsky and Hudelson, 1978) that this phenomenon goes beyond the code choice norm of: talk to the addressee in his/her dominant language (Genishi, 1976; Hudelson, 1978; McClure, 1979). Depending on whether the target language was English or Spanish, there was assymmetry in code choice norms to individuals, in how much the language was used as a vehicle of instruction, in expectations for language learning and in eventual acquisition. We accounted for this assymmetry with a greater assymmetry--whether the language was the usual, taken for granted unmarked language of the school, or whether it was marked and required a special policy for it to appear as a school language (Fishman, 1976).

Though we believed this was an obvious and generalizable conclusion, we hoped we were wrong. Therefore, we looked for a setting which might maximize the possibilities of problematic second language acquisition. We found a classroom where the explicit goal for the district was mutual second language acquisition, where Spanish would be assured more time through an alternating Spanish day-English day model, where there was, additionally, systematic second language instruction for each native group. This first grade in a greater Phoenix School district contained 10 Spanish dominant Mexican American children bussed in from a barrio, and 12 middle class children from the neighborhood. Of the 12, 5 were Anglos and 7 were basically English speaking Mexican Americans. Both a bilingual teacher and two bilingual aides were in the room.

METHODS

The focus of the 1978-79 study was changed from the peer language sessions to the classroom context. The three researchers[2] became participant observers in the classroom, spending at least half a day or more once a week in the room from October through March, noting who used Spanish, how often, for what functions, and what the responses were to Spanish in the classroom. We accomplished this by "hanging around," helping individual children, chatting freely with them and taking notes. One of us (SH) posed as a monolingual Spanish speaker. The other two used both English and Spanish. We also followed specific children, noting who used Spanish with them individually, why, and their responses. Finally, we paired these specific Ss with Spanish speaking peers for three audio-taped "Spanish" play sessions during the year.

Our targeted Ss were three Anglo monolingual English speakers (Kathy, Katie and Nathan), and two Mexican American children who spoke almost exclusively English, but who came from homes where some relatives spoke Spanish. We hoped that if Spanish second language acquisition was a hopeless venture for the Anglos in anything less than an immersion program (Edelsky and Hudelson, 1978), it would not be for the Chicanos, who had a head start via some kind of prior exposure and associations of warmth, intimacy, etc.

FINDINGS

From a six months compilation of classroom notes and transcripts we have divided our findings into the areas of: the second language classroom context, the behaviors of our target children, and evidences of Spanish language change over the year.

SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING CONTEXT

Spanish was used a great deal in this classroom. Both the teacher and the aides used Spanish to the entire class to: conduct classroom routines, give directions, accomplish transitions from one activity to another, direct children's movements in the room, reprimand and warn, explain, give information, compliment and tell stories.

Spanish was also used to our Ss in one to one situations, but here the functions of the utterances were limited to directions and reprimands. The Spanish used to individual Ss was basically context dependent, i.e. Spanish whose meaning could be inferred from the situation (such as siéntate en tu silla--sit in your chair--accompanied by a hand motion or pointing). Displaced topics or events were not conveyed in Spanish to nonSpanish speakers, though they were presented in English to Spanish dominant children. Spanish was not used publicly or with individual English speakers to chat, to tease, to joke, or to threaten, but it was used with individual Spanish speakers for these reasons.

The "monolingual" (SH's) presence in the classroom was another factor in the context. Because she was not the classroom authority, SH was able to attempt to converse with children informally. She was the only person who both persisted in the use of Spanish and did not respond with comprehension to English. Thus, when she was in the room, a real, if temporary, need for Spanish was created.

As noted earlier, the class was organized on an alternating English day-Spanish day basis. On both days there were intrusions of the other language into the language of the day. There were many fewer intrusions of Spanish into English day than vice-versa. Moreover, when Spanish was used on English day, it was directed to a Spanish dominant child, generally after that child had initiated in Spanish. Much more frequent were the instances of English on Spanish days. English was used for all of the previously noted Spanish language functions. Additionally it was used: (1) to insure understanding for the nonSpanish speaking children; (2) to let these children know that some instructions were coming; (3) to talk about an object or event that was not present; (4) to deal with an activity that was out of the ordinary. English also intruded into Spanish in adult-adult talk, as aide and teacher discussed the day's organization. Further, whenever an outside adult entered (with the exception of the bilingual program personnel), interactions took place in English. Certainly the children were aware of this, as two examples illustrate. In one instance, Lily, a Spanish dominant child who recently immigrated from Mexico, initiated an English conversation with the principal. In another, one of our target Chicano children was conversing with one of the researchers:

(1) V: Can you speak English?
CE: Sí
V: Then why don't you speak it?

Both Spanish speaker and English speaker sensed that English was somehow more appropriate than Spanish, that English was really the language of the school.

In the classroom the native Spanish speaking children from the Chicano barrio did use Spanish among themselves for a full range of social interactional and school oriented reasons. But they did not address the English speakers in Spanish. In fact, as the year progressed, the Spanish speakers more and more frequently addressed each other in English. Once, for example, two Spanish speakers discussed in English how to do a Spanish reading workbook page. Even recent arrivals from Mexico exhibited this behavior, as demonstrated by Lily and Eréndida standing in the lunchline one Spanish day:

(2) E (to L): ¿ tu chaqueta? (your jacket)
L: I don't need it.

Mention must also be made of the formal ESL/SSL lessons. Both English and Spanish speakers saw these times as artificial situations in which the children were segregated according to native language. The perceptions of the SSL lessons may be summarized by one of the target children's comments to us, "I can't speak Spanish but I can say 'Es un abrelata' [sic] (it's a canopener), and by two of the children's attempts to get SH to play SSL with them by bringing her a bunch of picture cards and initiating Es un--una (it's a--a) and waiting for her to fill in the lexical items. The Spanish speakers who participated in both classroom ESL and a special English pullout program had similar perceptions, as exemplified by Lily's response to a question about why records were used in the ESL class: "para que aprendamos inglés--dicen, I'm a fireman, dicen así. (So that we can learn English. They say, I'm a fireman, they talk like that.) Both groups of children were aware that these formalized lessons constituted games and nothing else.

From these specifics we see a double standard in the contexts for English and Spanish second language acquisition. There was operating an assumption that the Spanish speaking children would understand and speak a great deal more English and cope with English used for a greater variety of reasons than the English speakers would do with Spanish (in fact, early in the year the teacher told us that she translated into English on Spanish days for fear that the English speakers were not understanding the Spanish).

BEHAVIORS OF TARGET CHILDREN

Given the context just described, how did our target children behave? In both the classroom and in the taped sessions, our Ss frequently assumed the learner role by taking their turns and by guessing at meaning. They matched expressions, actions and even phrases of Spanish speakers. At other times they took turns by head shaking or laughing. Moreover, they used several combinations of clues to guess at meaning of the Spanish speaker's comments. They used clues based on what they could see and hear and also based on their knowledge of the world, including a knowledge of likely questions once they identified a topic. For instance a clue combination of gesture and likely question was probably being used in the following (our inferences about the children's real-world knowledge are in brackets).

(3) SH: (points at "Grease" written on Nathan's T-shirt)
Nathan, aqui¿qué dice? (Nathan, here, what does it say?)
N: [if an adult in school is pointing at print, she is probably asking me to read it] Grease.

Another combination was gesture plus recognized language clue plus likely question, as in the following:

(Katie is drawing a picture of a man and a woman)

(4) SH: ¿Es tu mamá? ¿Cómo es el pelo de tu mamá, Katie?
(It's your mom? What's her hair like?)
K: [the topic concerns my mom] no response

SH: (points to own hair) ¿Tiene mucho pelo, mucho cabello? (Does she have a lot of hair?)
K: no response
SH: Katie, ¿de qué color es el pelo de tu mamá? (Katie, what color is your mom's hair?)
K: [the topics have to do with mamá and papá. One string of sounds is familiar and signals an understandable question--de qué color. The question probably refers to the topics mamá and hair] Rojo (she is right)

Still another was names plus likely question, as the following illustrates:

(5) (during play session)

SH: Anita, ¿estudias español con Ms. V? (the SSL teacher) (Anita, do you study Spanish with Ms. V?)
A: [the topic concerns Ms. V] no response
SH: ¿Qué hacen? ¿Platican? (What do you do? Talk?)
A: Shakes head yes
SH: Sí. ¿Qué dicen? ¿De qué platican?(Yes. What do you say, what do you talk about?)
A: no response
CE: ¿Quiénes más van contigo al cuarto de Ms. V? Kathy? ¿Quién más? (Who else goes with you to Ms. V's room? Kathy? Who else?)
A: [the topic concerns a category including Kathy and Ms. V. The likely question is who else is in that category] Rolando (she is right)

Were the Ss' guesses always accurate? Although the Ss did guess at meaning, their guesses were not always accurate. It is these miss-the-mark-efforts that make us believe that their appropriate responses were also guesses which presented themselves as language comprehension but were not. For instance, using a clue combination of recognized language and like questions, Katie produced the following:

(6) SH: Y Katie, ¿cómo está tu papá? (And Katie, how is your father?) (She had told us the month before that he had hurt his back)
K: no response
SH: ¿Mejor? ¿Se siente mejor?
K: [I recognize papá, which must be the new topic. A likely question concerning my father is what does he do for a living] Making insurance.

With clues of knowing the topic because of having initiated it and continuing one's own topic, Katie took part in this interaction:

(7) K: (Playing with play-do) You know what I'm gonna get for my birthday, September 10th? (conversation continues about her anticipation of receiving a waterbed)

SH: ¿Quién te la va a dar? (Who's going to give to it you?)
K: shrugs shoulders
SH: ¿Tienes un novio Katie? (new topic) (Do you have a boyfriend Katie?)
K: Mmmmmmm
SH: ¿Quién es tu novio? (Who is your boyfriend)
K: [my topic is the waterbed. That is also what I'm making out of play-do. I'll repeat when I'm going to get this] My birthday

EVIDENCES OF CHANGES IN SPANISH PERFORMANCE

Given the Spanish language context and the children's taking of the learner role, were there any changes in their Spanish language behavior? By October our target children were already able to recite color words, numbers, some letters of the Spanish alphabet, and to sing a couple of songs. In the early taped sessions Katie used such forms as *maiya cama, my mamá and papá, dos people* and *boy in cama*, doing some minimal hispanicizing of English and inserting of Spanish lexicon into English. Anita used the item *esta* in pointing out objects to SH. Vince was able to answer one there and then question. Were there substantial changes by the end of March? Our answer must be no. Vince once used the phrases *más grande* and *ya me voy*. Anita produced *No sé* and *Yo no sé*. Katie labelled more objects, using the lexical items she had acquired from SSL. Once she volunteered the phrase *buenos días*. Kathy tried twice to use Spanish to send her own messages, once pointing to herself and saying *Katarina* so that her name would be crossed off a list and once saying *spañol* and *Es un -una* in order to initiate an SSL game with SH. Once she told us, *Esa clase we learn español*. But we don't want to make too much of this. The preceding sentences constitute almost the totality of their productions in Spanish. Besides these were directed basically to one person: the monolingual Spanish speaker.

Obviously the Chicanos' initial advantage vis-à-vis the Anglos did not translate into greater gains in acquisition of Spanish. Though they may have started and ended with a larger repertoire of formulae, Vince and Anita each showed little growth in March as compared with October. The same was true for Katie, Kathy and Nathan. Despite the fact that the five children this year took the learner role often while the three last year rarely did, both 77/78 and 78/79 target children made little progress in the acquisition of Spanish.

What may be most significant about their behaviors is that they did at times take the learner roll, that they did at times try to participate, that they did at times take turns and guess at meanings. What may also be significant is that there were some accommodations made to the monolingual researcher.

CONCLUSIONS

What then have we been able to conclude? Our data suggest that even in a favorable context such as this one (e.g. alternate days bilingual model, a dedicated teacher, the greater presence of Spanish in the classroom, native speakers of Spanish in the room, school district rhetoric, an adult Spanish speaking monolingual "hanging around," parental desires that Spanish be acquired, Spanish background in the families of some of the English speakers) one school year is not enough time for nonSpanish speakers to acquire Spanish, especially when compared to the acquisition of English by the Spanish speakers. Some rote routines are acquired early, but beyond that almost nothing happens. Our target children at the end of this year basically are still unable to send their own messages. Why does this happen? We suggest that there are fewer public adult-child interactions in Spanish than there are in English and that the interactions that do occur are directive rather than conversational. There are also fewer one to one interactions, so that nonSpanish speakers are not required to try to carry on conversations with individual Spanish speaking adults. The expectations that Spanish will be understood by nonSpanish speakers are lower than expectations for English being understood by nonEnglish speakers. There are no peer interactions in Spanish between Spanish speaker and non-Spanish speaker. There are no expectations developed that Spanish speaking children will initiate in Spanish to nonSpanish speakers. In general terms, both the teacher and learner roles are limited. We attribute these happenings to the markedness/unmarkedness distinction which we maintain exists despite concerted efforts to the contrary. In many open and subtle ways all participants in this bilingual room have learned that the real language of the school is English, even if both English and Spanish are accorded respect in this classroom.

Will these children eventually acquire Spanish if it remains a marked language? Perhaps so, if even more heroic efforts than those made in this classroom are continued. It might be necessary, for example, to carry on this first grade experience for four or five years. If that were to be attempted, would it be possible to find many teachers with the dedication and enthusiasm of this first grade model? Perhaps the presence of monolingual speakers of the marked language might prompt more language learning. We don't know, but they are certainly researchable questions.

FOOTNOTES

[1] It will appear throughout that we are being either covertly or overtly critical of the bilingual teachers and aides in these studies. On the contrary. We are not surprised by their code-switching and ensuing lack of awareness of which language they were using within a given topic in the school domain. Moreover, we praise them for their motives and their efforts to make bilingual education a two way street.

Especially noteworthy is the extraordinary amount of energy the teacher in this year's study expended in order to persist in violating code choice norms against using a marked language to monolingual speakers or an unmarked language, to persist in doing what was often followed by signs of incomprehension by her students, to provide the amount of Spanish she did when all around her the push was towards English, to maintain her Spanish maintenance desires in the absence of support for that goal from many nonbilingual program personnel. It is hard to imagine that anyone could have provided interactions with the marked language without changing the entire politico-linguistic context and making the marked language into an unmarked one (i.e., setting up an immersion program).

[2] We are greatly indebted to Gary Moorman for the classroom observations he made with us, for his perceptions, and for his suggestions during our data analysis.

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SOME CONSIDERATIONS IN THE LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT OF BILINGUAL CHICANO CHILDREN: A PILOT STUDY*

Margaret Orr
Arizona State University

What do you get when you assess a bilingual child's language? One might assume that it would be a fairly simple process to somehow acquire a sample of the child's language, score it, and assign a lable to it. In fact, there are a number of problems involved. The status of Spanish as a marked language in the Southwest may have some bearing on a bilingual Chicano's language use at school: this would certainly affect the outcome of a language assessment done at school. Fishman (1971a) has noted that language choice and topic, relative to domain, are based on societal, rather than purely individual, norms. The interlocutor relationship (assessor-assessee) must also be considered. The assessor may or may not be previously known to the child, a member of the child's ethnic group, and proficient in both languages under assessment. The scoring of the child's code switching can also be a problem. Some assessment instrument manuals direct the assessor to mark as wrong or to disregard any instance in which the child code switches. This approach ignores Fishman's (1971b: 563) observation that some bilingual speech communities do not view their speech as varying proportions of X and Y, but rather as Z, "a variety in its own right." Bertstein's (1972) concept of restricted vs. elaborated code usage may also affect assessment outcome. Depending upon the scoring system used by a particular assessment instrument, a child who speaks in a restricted code may be penalized or classified as less verbal than one who speaks in an elaborated code.

This study was undertaken to compare the results of several instruments designed to assess the language of bilingual children. I assessed ten bilingual Phoenix first graders with four different instruments. The instruments (Basic Inventory of Natural Language, Bilingual Syntax Measure, James Language Dominance Test, and Language Assessment Scales) were chosen because they are used in Phoenix-area schools. Results were compared for each child (rather than compared as a whole). I was particularly interested in noting any discrepancies between assessment results and observed or reported language use.

The ten children are all in English reading programs. Nine of them are actually in a classroom that is considered bilingual by its district, but no Spanish reading program is available there. The children and their familial language usage are noted in Table 1. The languages are given on the basis of parental report and teacher's observations, usually based on home visits. My informal observations of school language use are based on 130 hours I spent in the classroom last fall as an Observation-Participation student. The number of school age siblings is recorded because Politzer and McKay (1975) have found that the presence of siblings in the home tends to increase performance on English proficiency tests.

Descriptions of the four assessment instruments are given in Appendix A. The instruments use very different procedures and rating scales to attempt to describe the same thing: a child's language. The problems and special requirements noted for each instrument are crucial. The former may affect a child's outcome on the assessment; the latter, an instrument's proper use in the schools.

A brief description of each child's results shows the varying outcomes of the four instruments (Table 2). For instance, as a Spanish speaker, Anabel is described as "intermediate" by the BSM, but as a "nonspeaker with apparent linguistic deficiencies" by the LAS I. Her James results indicate her to be "English dominant/bilingual in comprehension." This would seem to be explained by her observed/reported home language usage.

Angel's results show consistency except for his James score, which lists him as "bilingual with Spanish as a home language." His low Spanish scores on the other assessments are surprising, given his Spanish home language situation.

Arturo's scores are also consistent, again except for his James score, which reports that he is "English dominant/bilingual in comprehension." This is surprising, given his other, relatively high, Spanish scores, and his reported home language.

From all his assessment results, Enrique appears to be equally proficient in English and Spanish. This would seem to be corroborated by his home language report.

Fidel's James score does not appear to accurately reflect his situation. His low LAS I English score ("limited English") does not corroborate with his school language performance at all, as he is a highly effective communicator in a predominantly English classroom environment.

Marisol's outcome on the James appears to be contradicted by her reported home language use. Surprisingly, her BSM and LAS I results are reversed: The BSM lists her as "proficient English and intermediate Spanish," while the LAS I lists her as "limited English and totally fluent Spanish." Her BINL scores seem to agree with her LAS I results. Like Fidel, she is a highly effective communicator in a predominantly English classroom, which would seem to support her BSM scores.

Marshall's results show some consistency, but they do not corroborate his reported and observed home language use.

Similarly, Paul's scores are quite consistent, but they do not corroborate his reported and observed home language use.

Rosa's results are quite interesting, because she does not appear to be highly fluent in either language. Furthermore, her LAS I and BINL scores are reversed: she is a "non-English speaker and near-fluent Spanish speaker" on the LAS I, while her BINL level of complexity is higher for English than for Spanish. Both of her BINL scores place her in Level II. Her James score appears to be accurate. At school, she is quite productive in both languages.

Vickie is "proficient" in both languages, according to the BSM, "nearly fluent in English and totally fluent in Spanish" on the LAS, and has similar Level II scores on the BINL. Her James score, however, does not appear to accurately reflect her home language situation.

How might one account for the widely varying results? The problems noted for each instrument could affect assessment outcome, and could affect that outcome asymetrically. For example, the three items used to predict home language on the James (hose, stove, and tie) could be considered inadequate on several accounts. The influence of television and other majority language media was apparently not considered by the instrument's developers, nor was the inappropriateness of "tie" as a home language predictor for nonwhite collar children. In regard to the LAS I, the minimal pair and phonemic production sections appear to produce low scores, even though a child's lack of phonological exactness may not affect his communicative competence in context. The LAS I oral production section is scored by very general criteria. (Examples are given for each level of production; the scorer is required to ascertain if errors are "systematic" or "occasional.") The principle problem with the BINL is the extremely general criterion for choosing the ten sentences for scoring. One is apt to be unsure whether to select the first ten, the most complex ten, or a random sample. And the BSM has been shown to assess children speaking their native language as second language learners. (Porter, cited in Hakuta and Cancino, 1977.) A different "flaw" in each instrument thus distorts the child's language picture, but the distortion could be erratic or at least hard to account for.

Beyond the above mentioned problems, the special requirements of the various instruments give them a high potential for misuse in the schools, especially when a school is faced with assessing hundreds of students. For example, the BINL requires several preliminary sessions to accustom the assessees to the procedure and the tape recorder, and to ensure the most "natural" language possible. The LAS I requires two native speakers, one for each language under assessment. It is highly unlikely that a school will have the time or personnel necessary to meet these requirements.

Whereas unspecified (by instrument's authors) and special, specified requirements are peculiar to each instrument, there are other factors which influence all assessment situations. The artificiality of the assessment situation is bound to affect assessment outcome. Clark (1975) has noted that testing situations differ from normal language situations. Even very informal assessment situations are artificial to some extent;

this artificiality must affect the instrument's ability to accurately measure the child's language.

Perhaps the most likely explanation for the variation in assessment results is the status of Spanish as a marked language in the Southwest. Given that Spanish is a marked language, which the child may or may not be accustomed to using in the school domain, and that the assessor is a perceived authority figure who may or may not share the child's cultural values, norms for language choice and topic, and membership in a speech community, it can be seriously questioned if it is possible to obtain a valid assessment of the child's skills in both languages in the school situation.

This was beautifully stated by Arturo, who, although he speaks both Spanish and English at home, remarked one day: "I'm a miracle. At home I can only speak Spanish and no matter how hard I try I can't speak English. At school I can only speak English. No matter how hard I try, I can't speak Spanish."

As an outgrowth of a class project, this study was done on an extremely small scale. It may, however, serve as a pilot for future research.

NOTES

I am deeply indebted to Carole Edelsky for her patience and generous assistance. Miguel Contreras and Maria Trumble administered and scored the Spanish section of the LAS I. Sarah Hudelson and John Wann were also very helpful.

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Table 1
Familial Languages*

Child	Language(s) Known by Father[a]	Language(s) Known by Mother[a]	Number of Schoolage Siblings	Home Language(s)	Language(s) of Parent/Teacher Conferences
Anabel	English/Spanish	English/Spanish	Two	English/Spanish	English
Angel	Spanish	English/Spanish	Two	Spanish	English
Arturo	English/Spanish	Spanish	Two	English/Spanish	English/Spanish
Enrique	Not Applicable	English/Spanish	One	Spanish	Spanish
Fidel	Spanish	English/Spanish	None	Spanish	English/Spanish
Marisol	Spanish	English/Spanish	One	Spanish	Spanish
Marshall	Spanish	English/Spanish	One	English/Spanish	English
Paul	English/Spanish	English/Spanish	One	English/Spanish	English
Rosa	Spanish	English/Spanish	Two	Spanish	Spanish
Vickie	Spanish	Spanish	One	Spanish	Spanish

*Though the accuracy of any of these columns may be suspect, each is derived from a slightly different date source and each depicts a slightly different aspect of a child's familial language picture.

[a] Date source is either parent self-report or teacher report based on acquaintance with parent.

[b] Date source is teacher report based on home visits.

Table 2
Results on the Four Instruments

	BINL Level of Complexity		BSM		James	LAS I	
	English	Spanish	English	Spanish		English	Spanish
Anabel	28.2	19.0	4	4	4	56.6	29.7
Angel	36.0	05.7	5	2	2	82.5	37.9
Arturo	50.0	29.0	5	4	4	85.6	78.7
Enrique	27.0	24.0	5	5	2	80.1	84.6
Fidel	38.1	46.1	4	5	3	66.4	91.1
Marisol	34.2	48.0	5	4	3	74.8	93.9
Marshall	30.0	20.0	5	3	4	93.6	50.2
Paul	24.0	03.8	5	2	4	96.4	32.3
Rosa	36.2	28.0	3	4	2	61.5	82.2
Vickie	44.0	50.0	5	5	3	76.3	88.4

BINL:

01.0-24.0 = Level I

24.0-50.0 = Level II

The BINL Levels of Complexity continue through Level IX. These scores are principally of interest in relation to each other.

BSM:

1 = No English (or Spanish)

2 = Receptive English (or Spanish) only

3 = Survival English (or Spanish)

4 = Intermediate English (or Spanish)

5 = Proficient (comparable to native speaking peers)

James:

1 = Spanish Dominant

2 = Bilingual with Spanish as Home Language

3 = Bilingual with Spanish/English as Home Language

4 = English Dominant/Bilingual in Comprehension

5 = English Dominant

LAS I:

85-100 = Level 5 Totally fluent English (or Spanish)

75- 84 = Level 4 Near-fluent English (or Spanish)

65- 74 = Level 3 Limited English (or Spanish) speaker

55- 64 = Level 2 Non-English (or Spanish) speaker; apparent linguistic deficiencies

54 and below = Level 1 Non-English (or Spanish) speaker; total linguistic deficiencies

Appendix A
Descriptions of the Four Instruments

Name/Publisher/Type of Instrument	Administration Procedure	Rating Scale Employed	Special Requirements	Problems
Basic Inventory of Natural Language (BINL), CHECpoint Systems, 1977. Free Production Instrument	The child is asked to describe a picture as fully as possible. This is done in a small group context to encourage natural language production and peer interaction. Questions are used as little as possible.	The child is rated on fluency, average sentence length, and level of complexity. The level of complexity is ascertained by analyzing the complexity of the child's syntax. Points are given for independent and subordinate clauses, modifiers, phrases, and partial sentences. The level of complexity scores are placed on various levels. Responses totally or partially in a language other than the one under assessment are ignored, unless they are single words which complete a given syntactic structure.	Several preliminary sessions are required to accustom the children to the tape recorder and the procedure.	Only very general criteria are given for the selection of the ten sentences required to srore the assessment.
Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM), Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973. Controlled Elicitation Instrument	Administered individually. The child is shown a series of cartoon-type pictures and asked specific questions. The questions are designed to elicit specific grammatical structures.	The child's responses are rated for grammaticality. The child is placed on one of five levels: (1) no English (or Spanish); (2) receptive English (or Spanish); (3) survival English (or Spanish); (4) intermediate English (or Spanish); (5) proficient English (or Spanish). Responses totally or partially in a language other than the one under assessment are not scored.	None.	The BSM has been shown to assess children speaking their native language as second language learners. (Porter, cited in Hakuta and Cancino, 1977.)
James Language Dominance Test (James), Learning Concepts, 1974. Controlled Elicitation Instrument	The child is asked to point to a specified item, then give the names of various items. Later, the child is asked to describe a picture. A one sentence response is expected.	The child is classified as (1) Spanish dominant; (2) bilingual with Spanish as a home language; (3) bilingual with Spanish and English as a home language; (4) English dominant/bilingual in comprehension; (5) English dominant. The descriptive sentence is considered acceptable if it is complete. Responses in a language other than the one under assessment are considered incorrect.	None	Home language is predicted on the basis of three items (hose, stove, and tie).
Language Assessment Scales (LAS I), Linguametrics Group, 1977. Controlled Elicitation Instrument	Administered individually. A tape is used to standardize the stimuli presented to the child. The child is asked to differentiate minimal sound pairs, name objects, repeat words and sentences (phonemic production), and repeat a story.	The child's raw score is converted to a 1-100 scale. He is classified as totally fluent, near-fluent, limited speaker, nonspeaker with apparent linguistic deficiencies, or nonspeaker with total linguistic deficiencies. Responses completely or partially in a language other than the one under assessment are ignored.	Two native speakers are required, one for each language under assessment.	Minimal pair and phonemic production sections tend to produce low scores. Only very general criteria are given for scoring the oral production section.

PANEL DISCUSSION:
FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Carole Edelsky
Arizona State University

I want to make a plea for "messy research" in language acquisition, research that does not begin with null hypotheses, research that does not look only at output or formal features of input alone, research whose major questions aim at explanation. What I am advocating is a "total performance analysis" of interaction; of the features of the function, intention, and context of input and output as they co-occur in the language development of the young child. The assumption here is that interaction is not only a necessary condition for language acquisition, but that it is in learning how to do conversation that one learns possible intentions (how to mean) and alternative symbolizations for these intentions (how to put things). Syntax, then, is not acquired in order to have conversations but is acquired through having conversations.

Some recent work, while staying within the interactional framework, does focus on formal features of input, but is enhanced through an interactional account of why such features might occur and what purposes they serve. For instance, certain features of Baby Talk attract attention and present sentence boundaries with clarity (McTear, 1978). Input from adult vs. child speakers of a target language to young second language learners has been contrasted according to numbers and types of questions it contains, numbers of clarification requests, a focus on phonology and syntax in child-child interactions vs. a focus on semantics in adult-child interactions (Peck, 1978). Exciting implications for understanding why input to young (L_1) or inexperienced (L_1 and L_2) speakers should have these characteristics and how it affects output is derived from these and other studies of total interaction.

Studies of the wider interactional scene give a broader picture of what gets learned in language acquisition and of how that learning might occur. Scollon's (1976) work using data that others throw out (repetitions, unintelligible utterances) shows a child learning Topic/Comment, eventually creating horizontal constructions (multi-word strings) out of vertical constructions jointly produced by the child and another speaker, the learning of allowable phonetic variability in the production of a word, and discourse strategies for the use of a speech act (a summons). "Completion" as a conversational strategy used by twins with a third party also shows two-party vertical constructions produced jointly by the twins and ensuing horizontal ones produced individually (Slavić, 1979).

It is specific aspects of interaction that teach a child how to get attention, initiate topics (Hatch, 1978), establish and maintain communication (Keenan, 1974; Clark, 1977), and acquire turn allocational components (turn-taking, transition-relevant places, unit types) (Snow, 1977). For instance, mothers take both parts of dialogues with infants, accepting at first any interpretable response (burps, smiles, but not arm-flailing) as a unit type. Moreover, they impute intentions to babies' sounds right from the start. "Motherese" appears to change not because the infant's comprehension abilities increase so much as because the infant becomes a more adequate conversational partner. Mother-infant interactions thus lay the foundation for learning conversational maxims, the intentionality of speech, and the coordination of interaction (Snow, 1977). It is interaction that teaches the distinction between two Griceian utterance types (indicative--the hearer should believe something vs. imperative--the hearer should do something) (Kennan, 1974). More "strictly linguistic" items such as acquisition of the interrogative (Snow, 1977), better comprehension of WH naming questions than Y/N questions (Rogdon, 1979), verb aspect (Ratner & Bruner, 1978), and even morpheme acquisition order among second language learners (Hatch, 1978) have been linked to interactional antecedants.

Once people started looking at interaction, that disdained process, "imitation," on the part of both adults and children, was found to have multiple functions in hypothesis testing (Blount & Padgug, 1977), in maintaining communication (Folger & Chapman, 1978; Keenan, 1974; Clark, 1977) and in highlighting formal phonological and syntactic features during child-child discourse (Keenan, 1974).

An interactional perspective on language acquisition though involving "messy" data and originating with imprecise hypotheses or research questions, is thus providing both rich data and conclusions that make experiential sense and are congruent with a theory wherein language is situated and communicative.

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Gail Guntermann
Arizona State University

There is now much evidence that second-language learners, like speakers of pidgin languages, simplify the linguistic system of a language in order to facilitate the task of communicating. Both also appear to expand their competence as a result of social pressures to conform and motivation to communicate on a deeper, personal level. In recent years the development of communicative competence has clearly become the major goal of foreign language study, resultng in a need to relate language learning to the larger social and cultural context. This effort will require that we define communication in operational terms, determine the role of linguistic competence within communicative competence, and investigate the processes of natural language acquisition and classroom language learning.

My research interests include all three of the above concerns; specifically, I am working in the following areas: (1) The comprehensibility and evaluational effects of errors in grammar on communication with native speakers of Spanish. I have conducted a study of the comprehensibility of English-speaking learners' errors in El Salvador and will return during the summer of 1979 to carry out a subsequent study of the acceptability of particular aspects of learners' speech and of the factors influencing native listeners, evaluations and interpretations; (2) Adult second-language acquisition. The tape recordings of the oral interview examinations of Peace Corps volunteers at the end of training and one year later are serving as a source of data on their acquisition of Spanish in the field. I will analyze the forms and structures that they attempt to use, both successfully and unsuccessfully, at both levels; (3) Functional syllabus design. Defining communication in operational terms appropriate to classroom applications requires that communicative functioning be broken down into practicable parts, and designing a functional syllabus requires selection and sequencing for maximum appropriate practice. I am attempting to design a model for the development of functional competence in Spanish.

Jacques Laroche
New Mexico State University

This is a state of the art paper. It does not claim to represent any experimental approach and even though the author has some personal experience with the topic, the paper will mainly cover what is found in the literature and what can be deduced from modern linguistic theories of foreign language acquisition.

Why especially observe Chicano learning of French?

It should be clearly understood that the topic conveys two specific elements. First of all, it is significant to consider French and Spanish as Romance languages and to recognize that learning the one should be easier to speakers of the other language.

Secondly, the learners are not considered merely as Spanish speakers, or even as cultural Mexicans. They are Chicanos and bring into the learning experience the whole sociological aspect of belonging to a bilingual minority. Will this create any difference from, let's say, the case of Spaniards who are students of French?

What is common between Spanish and French?

According to the traditional approach of historical linguistics, Spanish and French are classified as Romance languages while English, for example, belongs to the Germanic languages. It should mean that Spanish and French have more cognates and grammatical similarities than French and English. It should however be reminded that, since 1066, English has acquired so many words from French that the difference may not be all that great. The point of closeness and opposition between the two languages is not thus so obvious as it seemed.

Linguistic Theories of Foreign Language Acquisition.

Two theories which seem to have a lot to do with the differences and resemblance between target and native languages are Contrastive Analysis and Error Analysis.

Contrastive Analysis is based on the assumptions of Structuralist Linguistics and suggests that instruction, after comparison of the two languages, should focus on what in the TL is "deviant" from the NL norm. This type of analysis would see Spanish speakers as advantaged in learning French.

Error Analysis is derived from Transformational Grammar. In this view, the mistakes committed by foreign learners are not always due to their native language and sometimes remind one of those made by native children in learning the target language. This analysis does not consider Romance language speakers as more advantaged in learning French.

Sociological Aspects of Chicano Students.

If anything, the linguistic theories do not agree on the alleged ease of learning French for students who are Spanish speakers.

What do we know now on Chicano students? We will essentially concentrate on attitudes concerning the image of learning and of the scholar in the community of school age Chicanos. We will also consider the reality of bilingualism in the considered group of subjects.

Conclusion.

Do the sociological aspects count more or less than linguistic views concerning the problem of learning French for Spanish speakers?

R.F. Martin
University of Texas at Austin

For a long time now, experts in the area of bilingual education have consistently and rather tenaciously espoused several ideas that are fundamental to insuring success in their programs. Among the more important concepts that can be cited are the following:

1) young children whose linguistic dominance (mother tongue) is a language other than that of the school they attend--in this case English--will experience a greater measure of academic success in *all* areas of the cognitive domain processes if the native (home) language is used as the medium of instruction for the learning of *basic concepts*;

2) once the conceptualization process is attained, the transfer of that body of knowledge to the second language is merely a matter of changing codes;

3) these children will require a concomitant systematic approach to the acquisition of English as a second language to achieve success in school;

4) these children will demonstrate a rapid achievement in the affective domain processes simply because their basic psychological needs will have been met and satisfied;

5) the conceptualization process will not only be enhanced, but *also insured* in both the first and second languages, if, and only if, *such concept* development becomes an internalized aspect of young children's personal life experiences;

6) there exists a basic need for these young children to experience an opportunity to learn and to grow through a wide variety of sensory and motor activities; and,

7) the acquisition process of both the first and second languages *must* be accompanied by an intense bicultural modality.

Let us specifically address some of the concerns above. It has been recognized for a long, long time that young children often acquire a second language (L_2) rather easily and quickly. In light of this belief, foreign language teachers and other interested educators provided the necessary impetus that ultimately led to a proliferation of foreign language in the elementary school (FLES) programs all across the nation, especially in the decade between 1958 and 1968. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the methodological thrust of that period was concerned with the acquisition of the second language *as a foreign language* for monolingual English speakers who had *already* attained a rather complete linguistic system. The same linguistic pattern does not hold for today's concern for language acquisition within bilingual education programs, for it must be acknowledged that young children in these programs do not learn the L_2 in the exact same manner in which they acquired their first. This statement can be made despite the recent published research that draws heavily on the processes of overgeneralization and simplification as being common to both first and second language acquisition in young children.

Empirical studies undertaken in bilingual education classrooms in many state and federally supported programs in Texas would indicate that the factor of time constraints holds a direct bearing on the success or failure of achieving balanced bilingualism in our schools. This matter of time constraints not only refers to the number of minutes during which the two languages are used for instructional purposes, but, more importantly, it also refers to the length of time in which the skills of listening and speaking are allowed to be developed and perfected prior to the introduction of reading and writing in L_2. As is most often the case, a strong disparity exists between L_1 and L_2 simply because most classroom teachers find themselves pressured into having the children attain certain levels of achievement too soon. The implication of this claim is that there is insufficient time for oral language development in L_2 when this time frame is contrasted with the normal five to six year time frame available to L_1 learners in a natural setting.

However, the greater disadvantage of the disparity brought on by these time constraints has yet to be mentioned. It was noted above that young children dominant in a language other than English require instruction in the native language for the learning of basic concepts, in short, the acquisition of knowledge. This knowledge acquisition process (KAP) is often violated by seemingly well intentioned curricular practices in bilingual educations programs, and, as a consequence, L_2 progress is often hampered, if not completely frustrated. In addition, progress in L_1 concomitantly becomes frustrated, resulting in a disruption of the KAP. Once this situation takes hold, academic success can no longer be assured in some part or all areas of the cognitive domain, and, all too often, undesirable labeling and classification of youngsters is the result. This process is at one and the same time both regressive and cumulative; that is, one erroneous decision builds upon another, one false classification follows another, and even worse, one weak and unfounded generalization about an ethnic minority serves as additional support for other weak and unfounded generalizations concerning that particular group.

As one discusses cognitive domain development in either L_1 or L_2, one must also bear in mind the conceptual maturation level of young children acquiring L_2. Without a proper foundation in L_2, younsters cannot be expected to develop certain concepts that on the surface appear to be within the confines of their maturity. In reality, however, they may be suffering from a linguistic handicap that hinders the conceptualization process because the unfamiliar language is the vehicle of instruction. In other words, the linguistic progress in L_2 does not match the expected maturational level for concept development based on age factors. Whenever such conditions exist, invariably the young learner of L_2 is at a decided disadvantages alongside other youngsters of the same age group who have already acquired that particular language natively.

In all the elementary school bilingual education programs in this country, English is the L_2 for those children with a different native language. Consequently, these children *will require*, and correspondingly *must receive*, a systematic approach to the acquisition of English as a second language in order to achieve success in school. This type of methodology demands that the native language serve as the vehicle for initial classroom instruction in *all* areas and that English be introduced slowly and methodically, with a strong emphasis on developing listening and speaking skills almost exclusively. Only after an intensive immersion in oral language development in English as the L_2, complete with all the methodological considerations of L_2 acquisition, should there be any formal attempt at a mastery of the other two linguistic domains.

Concurrently, there should be a careful planning of the curricular content of L_2 such that the four social domains are incorporated in their proper sequence. These domains and the sequential ordering are the following: the child, the home, the school, and the community. Caution should be exercised in an attempt not to isolate the four social domains completely, for, as with parallel domains in other disciplines, there is no sharp division separating the one from another. Any attempt at a finite division of these domains lends itself to artificiality and runs contrary to the manifestations inherent in the real world. After all, a lesson or unit on the child cannot ignore the fact that he or she is a member of a family, a community, and a class.

A general operating principle for success in educational planning must always remain tantamount to any curriculum organization, namely: Always proceed from the known to the unknown from the simple to the more complex. There can be no deviation from this universal principle in the acquisition process of an L_2 for any reason whatsoever. To do so consistently would inevitably lead to linguistic frustration and, ultimately, to psychological frustrations resulting in negative self-conceptualization and a complete disenchantment with the existing educational system and with everything it hopes to accomplish for *our* society. Like small dosages of radiation poisoning that take so long to accrue and to manifest themselves into irrevocable health hazards, so too can be the harmful effects of accrued educational failures that begin with the early years and find themselves inexplicably being repeated and reinforced.

There is a long list of theoreticians who have successfully shown that young children demonstrate a basic need to experience an opportunity to learn and grow through a wide variety of sensory and motor activities. The younger the child the more basic is the need to see, feel, hear, smell, taste, and touch each newly acquired element in his or her expanding world. Equally important is the need to speak, sing, dance, mimic, run, jump, imitate, dramatize, imagine, and create. In short, young children acquiring

L_2 (as well as L_1) need to manipulate everything they experience to the degree possible. We learn about stars, clouds, the sun, moon, and sky, and even though we cannot physically handle the actual items, we can still ask children to manipulate tangible representations of them to aid in the conceptualization process. Many forms of creative dramatics are also brought into use throughout this process, but always with an emphasis on oral language skills development. The pedagogical phenomenon of personalizing the lesson, a process of allowing the learning experiences to enter into the child's sphere of existence (whether real or imaginary), is the final step of the KAP and ultimate success in academic achievement. Without this vital process human creativity is stifled and minds are wasted.

Finally, mention must be made of the fact that the acquisition process of both L_1 and L_2 in bilingual education classes must be accompanied by an intense bicultural modality. The implication of this statement is that the cultural domain objectives of a unit need to go far beyond the surface culture activities that often lead to myth building and stereotyping of an ethnic group. Speakers of Spanish quickly grow bored of the taco-tortilla-tamale syndrome as do speakers of English who decry the fast-food, fast-living, fast-buck syndrome. Both first and second language acquisition must be laced with deep cultural values. The total process must strive to build a foundation on truly significant affective domain properties. In the final analysis, these two major concerns in bilingual education, relevant cultural activities and the affective domain area, are inseparable and nonexclusive of one another. Since they are obvious inalienable rights of monolingual children becoming educated in a monocultural society, so too must they prove to be an unalienable right of bilingual children striving to achieve success in bilingual education programs for a bicultural society. In this, the International Year of the Child, our concern as bilingual educators should focus on the Seventh Principle of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child:

> The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages. He shall be given an education which will promote his general culture, and enable him on a basis of equal opportunity to develop his abilities, his individual judgment, his sense of moral and social responsibilities, and to become a useful member of society. . .

II

A STRUCTURAL CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS' SPEECHES AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE TEACHER

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COOLEY, RALPH and LUJAN, PHILIP (The University of Oklahoma) A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS' SPEECHES: This article is based on the presumptions that speeches by Native Americans are organized according to different structural patterns than are speeches which follow Western Rhetorical patterns and that those structural patterns can be described. The authors investigate these presumptions by analyzing speeches given by Native American students and speeches appropriate to a pow-wow or council meeting delivered by prestigious elders from different tribes to arrive at a description of their organizational structure. The analysis covers the organization and progression of topic and the manner in which tense and referential mechanisms such as pronouns are used as cohesive devices. The authors develop descriptions of the organizational patterns present in the speeches and demonstrate that they follow certain principles of topic selection and explication and that the student speeches are organized in a manner which is similar to that found in the older Native Americans' speeches.

SILER, INA and LABADIE-WONDERGEM, DIANA (The University of Oklahoma) CULTURAL FACTORS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN SPEECHES: Using data derived from Cooley and Lujan's analysis in the previous paper, the authors hypothesize that Native American speeches are structured in this manner because these structures reflect the value systems present in the Native American Culture. The authors first examine the relationship between oral communication behavior and culture in general and then move to a specific discussion of the relationship between the structures of Native American speeches, a narrow slice of the oral communication spectrum, and Native American culture.

SCAFE, MARLA and KONTAS, GRETTA (The University of Oklahoma) CLASSROOM IMPLICATIONS OF AWARENESS AND EVALUATION OF CULTURALLY DEFINED DIFFERENCES IN NATIVE AMERICAN SPEECHES: This paper examines the implications for educators of the data supplied in the two previous focusing on the demands these findings place on the classroom teacher. The authors emphasize two areas: First, that teachers must become increasingly aware of the differences between Native American organizational patterns in oral performances and those expected in White culture. This involves not only increasing their own awareness but the awareness of both Native Americans and White students. Second, that there is a need for teachers to structure for themselves a new set of expectations for these culturally determined differences. This means that previous patterns can no longer be the total basis for evaluation. Instead, the new expectations accept these patterns as valid and lead the teacher to establish new and more appropriate contextual criteria for oral evaluations. These theoretical implications will provide the bases for implicit pedagogical strategies for evaluation.

DAUPHINAIS, LOUISE (The University of Oklahoma) INTEGRATION OF ALTERNATIVE SPEAKING PATTERNS IN BICULTURAL CLASSROOM SITUATIONS: Initially this paper provides an orientation to pluralism and divergent world view as they impact on the structures of Native American student behaviors, particularly oral performances in an adult speech learning context, such as a college level speech classroom. An explication of the interrelationship of two elements that are essential in the cross-cultural development of individual language competence is offered. First, in order to approach this communication competency a student should have a knowledge of explicit differences of world view and consequent effects on the organization of communicative acts. Then, from this knowledge of world view differences he can identify his range of explicit choices, distinguish between appropriate and inappropriate communication behavior, and determine the suitability of particular patterns in speeches. This approach provides opportunities to help the student increase his communication competency.

A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS' SPEECHES

Ralph Cooley and Philip Lujan
University of Oklahoma

Public speeches by Native Americans are often stereotyped by Whites as "unorganized" or "rambling". Careful listening, however, reveals considerable similarity between these speeches. Further, Native Americans are easily able to separate bad speeches from good ones and to rate speakers according to their speaking skills. These last observations lead us to suspect that it is not that these speeches lack structure, but that they are organized according to different structural principles than are speeches by Whites. The lack of understanding of these different principles on the part of Whites, then, is a major contributing factor in the stereotype. This paper is an attempt to remedy that problem by offering a description of the structural principles by which at least some Native Americans organize their speeches.

Our approach recognizes that these speeches are performances and that the speaker has assumed a responsibility to the audience for a "display of communicative competence" (Bauman, p. 11), although this responsibility is more limited in one of our data gathering situations. In the college speech classroom student speeches (whether enthusiastically or reluctantly delivered) are recognized by all to be the accomplishments of neophytes, and therefore, in that situation the student has assumed only a responsibility for an attempt at competence, with the expectation that she/he will fall short. In addition to this modification, we differ from Bauman (p. 7-9) in that our analysis is primarily text centered. Such an orientation seems appropriate to us because the oral rendition of that text is precisely what the stereotype is about and what is being evaluated by the students and the teacher in the class.

John Gumperz (personal conversation) points out that the structural patterns with which we are concerned in this paper are very pervasive, outlasting first language proficiency and dialect phenomena. Nevertheless, there are many other behaviors, both verbal and nonverbal, in these data which seem likely to reveal interesting performance processes. One cannot do everything at once, and we were led to begin here by the obvious immediate relevance of these behaviors to the stereotype. We hope to begin an analysis of the non-verbal behavior which accompanies elder's speeches in the near future.

Cooley and Babich (1979) examined Native American speeches in an attempt to furnish teachers with sufficient knowledge about their structures that the teachers could begin to attack the stereotype. In that paper and in Cooley (1979) we argue that one should not use traditional rhetorical analytic methods to analyze these speeches, since those methods are founded in Western cultural norms (Young, et. al., p. 1-9), while Philipsen (1976) has shown that at least one Native American culture, the Navajo, values speech behavior which operates within a different rhetorical framework. We offer here an analytic system which examines four phenomena in speeches by Native Americans: 1. The organization and progression of topic, paying particular attention to the relation of topics to each other and to the subject of the discourse; 2. The organization which holds within each topic; 3. The structure of the transitions between topics; and 4. The use of reference as a cohesive device (Halliday and Hasan, 1973).

We will examine a series of twelve speeches by Native Americans from various tribes. Eight of these speeches were delivered by students in Principles of Communication, an introductory course in the Department of Communication and the Native American Studies Program at the University of Oklahoma. The students were all monolingual in English and were from four different tribes. The speeches varied in length from three minutes, forty-five seconds to nearly seventeen minutes. All of them were simultaneously video and audio recorded with the permission of the entire class. A total of eighteen speeches had originally been recorded, but eight of these had to be eliminated form the data because of faulty recording or because the speech was read from a text which was written by someone else. Two further speeches were eliminated because the speakers were so nervous that their presentations were incoherent. In addition to the eight student speeches, we include in the data four speeches by three older prestigious Native Americans. These speeches vary in length from four minutes to thirty minutes. Only one was videotaped, but all were audiotaped with the full knowledge of the speaker. The elders' speeches are of two types: two of them are actual speeches made before an audience, the other two were recorded in an "as if" situation, in which the speaker had been asked to prepare a speech in advance and deliver it "as if" he were speaking to an audience from his tribe on some ceremonial occasion. These elder speakers were Kiowa, Creek, and Cherokee.

We chose these two populations for the following reasons: The students bear the brunt of the stereotype in school situations where they are required to speak in public and are judged by White audiences and teachers. It is then crucial to examine precisely these school situated performances in order to garner the most telling evidence concerning the stereotype. The elders were chosen because it seemed likely that they serve as culturally appropriate models from whom the students have learned something about how to speak properly in public.

The Data

Before proceeding, it is necessary to define the constructs which we have used. There are six: topic, topic change point, organization, information points, cohesive devices, and reported speech. Topic is defined as the speaker's talk about one and only one content area. Typically a speech will consist of several topics, all related to the subject of the speech in some way. Those places in the speech where the speaker moves from one topic to another are noted as topic change points. These points themselves are not of interest, instead we are interested in the manner in which transition from topic to topic across those points is achieved by the speaker. The perceived relationships which hold between topics, the way those relationships are made evident at topic change points, and the relationships between information points within topics are defined as the organization of the speech. An information point occurs within topics and is defined as talk about one aspect of that topic's content.

Cohesive devices, discussed at length in Halliday and Hasan, 1973, mark coreferential relationships and tie parts of the speech together, making it a text. Cohesive devices are not structural units, but are markers of semantic relations which hold in a text. Cohesion using reference, the device investigated here, is achieved by the use of pronouns or other words which stand in the place of the original referent noun. These words can either refer backward to a coreferent which has already occurred, or forward to one which has not. Reported speech is the attribution of information or a statement to someone other than oneself, but not through direct quotes. For example, "I was told that. . ." or "what was told to me was. . .".

The analysis of all speeches was done from transcripts which were made from the audiotapes. First the transcript was divided into topics, topic change points were marked, and information points were noted. Then the cohesive devices were annotated and finally occurrences of reported speech were noted.

Analysis of Student Speeches: There is a great deal of variation in the details of organization of these speeches, as one would expect. Nevertheless, strong similarities exist in the general patterns of organization. The typical speech consists of three to five topics, depending on its length, which are related to the subject of the speech in that they are parts of it. For example, a speech on the "Moonie Cult" has three topics: Rev. Moon, Recruiting Techniques, and Brainwashing. (See Example 1 for the first portion of this speech.) These three topics are offered by the speaker in a sequence which does not demonstrate any relation between topics, except through their relation to the subject of the speech. In other words, there is no organizational pattern which holds between the topics, but they all can be seen to relate to the subject.

1 This will be on the Moonie Cult, which is a cult started
2 by a gentleman who created every Moonie, which is, I guess,
3 a religious being that has no denomination, supposed to be
4 a unified--any demonination that you want. And he was
5 from Korea. He escaped Korea when the U.S. overcame this
6 POW camp where he was in jail at the time, and he went to
7 New York where he started his religious cult. He started
8 out as a Presbyterian, and he went to the Unification Church
9 which he started and designed himself. I was supposed to
10 talk over brainwashing techniques that the cults used. What
11 they do is they--the Moonies like people who are educated
12 or getting educated, that are young. They usually have
13 their own college canvassers recruiting, looking for people
14 that are depressed waiting for classes that had a test,
15 people who are worried about something, like low morale
16 people. And they invite them over to the group, which con-
17 sists of a lot of smiling faces and a lot of young people,
18 and try to impress them in that sort of state. The object
19 of their recruiting is to get the person to stay over a while
20 and visit and live with them for a little while. And what was
21 told to me was the best time to get a recruit was late in
22 the week, and if it was possible to keep him over and have
23 him miss class the beginning of the next week, chances were
24 that they had them in the cult. And brainwashing is a big
25 controversy right now. . .

EXAMPLE I

At line 9 the speaker concludes his first topic, Rev. Moon, and begins the next, which is announced as "brainwashing techniques" but which turns out to be recruiting techniques. At line 24 he concludes that topic and returns to brainwashing. There are no overt markers of the relation between Rev. Moon and recruiting, or between recruiting and brainwashing. The speaker merely moves from one topic to the next at the topic change point.

In speeches where the speaker begins with an overtly marked introduction there is often a brief outline of the planned speech which takes the form "first I will. . .next I will. . .and finally I will. . .". Example 2, lines 1-5, shows such an introduction

1 OK, my part of the symposium is dealing with some of the
2 reasons or causes that lead to suicide. And I attempted to
3 cover three specific areas: and I started with Indian
4 reservations, and went on down to the urban society, and I
5 also covered the area of boarding schools. And I found
6 that on a reservation that the living conditions were. . .

EXAMPLE 2

Speakers who use these phrases in their introduction often introduce each topic with a similar phrase. In Example 2, lines 5 and 6, the speaker introduces his frst topic with "and I found that on a reservation. . .". This speaker goes on to introduce his second topic with "I went on to research some more in the urban areas," and his third with "and the last topic I attempt to do some research on was boarding schools". These transitions phrases serve to announce a topic change, to show the listener where the speaker is in the speech by relating each topic back to the introduction, but they do not demonstrate any relationship between the topics. As transitions they operate very abruptly and often they are simply not there; in which case the topic is changed without announcement, as in the last line of Example 1.

In only one of the eight student speeches was there any explicit marking of the relationship between a topic and its immediately adjacent neighbor. This speech is easily recognizable as being different from the others and it is this feature that makes it so. In all the other speeches, the only relationship between topics is implicit, through their relationship to the subject of the speech.

1 . . .and the last topic I attempt to do some research on
2 was boarding schools. And I have a statement here that
3 was made by Laslow and ? on psychosocial adjustment of
4 Indian youth, and this is from the American Journal of
5 Psychiatry. It states that there is a high incidence of
6 suicide among the American Indians on reservations and in
7 Indian schools. Part of the boarding school problems were
8 that there were behavior problems in the children before
9 they even attended the schools. Like a lot of them didn't
10 --this was the only place they had to go. There were no
11 parents and they had been in a lot of foster homes and
12 stuff and finally they get old enough to go to boarding
13 school they ship them off. They come there with a prob-
14 lem, you know. And its the boarding school, how its set
15 up, a lot of times there isn't enough staff there to suit
16 every child, you know, to help everybody like it should
17 be. There was also some tribal conflict within the many
18 tribes that integrated into the boarding school. I guess
19 attempting sucide was putting oneself into a situation

20 where he might be beat up to the point of death. And
21 also alcohol and drugs, like I say.

EXAMPLE 3

Organization of information within the topic is very much like the organization between topics. In Example 3, which illustrates a single topic, there are four information points: prior problems of students, staffing problems, intertribal conflict, and alcoholism. Even though the topic is a unified text, there are no overt marks of the relationship between these four points, excepting their occurrence in the topic.

Within topics the text is strongly cohesive and most of the cohesion is realized by pronouns which are coreferential with nouns and other pronouns which elsewhere in that topic. Of the four cohesive types which Halliday and Hasan discuss, this type, reference, is used an overwhelming percentage of the time. See Example 4.

1 The first instance of Indian militancy was I guess, well
2 not really the first but when the papers and everything
3 started writing about it and started coming into public
4 view, was the occupation of Alcatraz, and that was in San
5 Fransisco bay. The Indians, which weren't really Cali-
6 fornia Indians, they were Indians from all over the
7 United States and there really wasn't that many California
8 Indians in the group that occupied the island. But the
9 reason they took it over was because of an old treaty that
10 said the government when its not using any land it should
11 revert back to the original owners which was the Native
12 Americans. They had a lot of plans for this place you
13 know. They wanted to turn it into a cultural school, also
14 a spiritual center, a museum. It was in San Francisco
15 Bay but in San Francisco the Native American Center there
16 had burned down, and so they didn't really have any place
17 to go. They lasted out for about two winters, but all the
18 time they was holding out you know there was always con-
19 frontations with the federal marshals, which blockaded
20 medical supplies, food, and sanitation facilities.
21 Finally, in the spring of 1970, they cut off their elec-
22 tricity and water, but it wasn't until June of 1971 that
23 they finally, you know, gave up. It was called the war of
24 attrition but, you know, they really didn't accomplish
25 that much but what they did accomplish they knew that they
26 had to carry on and do something else. . .

EXAMPLE 4

In this example there are 30 markers of coreferentiality and 24 of these are third person pronouns, either "they" or "it". The longest cohesive string beings with "these Indians", in line 5, is 16 markers long, and ends on line 25. All but two of these markers, "the group" (line 8) and "Native Americans" (line 11-12), are occurrences of "they". The use of this device makes cohesion within topics very strong, if somewhat repetitious. Very importantly, however, cohesive devices are not used across topic change points, even in the one student speech which is recognizably untypical.

One particular pattern of reported speech occurs quite regularly throughout the corpus of student speeches. A phrase, often with an intransitive or passive verb, precedes the information cited which is in the form of a "that" clause. This pattern, in one of two variants, occurs more than half the time that reported speech is used.

a) "It was stated that they thought that. . .they thought that polyandry existed because it was associated with extreme poverty," (Speech 6)

b) "I have a statement here. . .and it states that there is a high incidence of suicide among the American Indians on reservations. . ." (Speech 2)

or

c) ". . .and what was told to me was. . .the best time to get a recruit was late in the week." (Speech 1)

d) ". . .this one report was surprised that it was . . .the White people are trying to destroy us . . ." (Speech 4)

The remaining occurrences were varied

e) "In this book I read on the suicide among American Indians. . .it covered the one area on the Cheyenne reservation." (Speech 2)

f) "I think I studied in my class that. . .that most divorces they marry again." (Speech 6)

It must be noted that these speakers do not always use this device--often they cite the data with no reference to the sources at all. Nevertheless, these types of referencing phrases occur often enough to stand out. The fact that they occur initially and involve these types of verbs shifts the focus from the content of the information cited to its source, giving the speeches a flavor of speaker as reporter, rather than source.

In summary, student speeches can be characterized as follows: They consist of several topics, presented in sequence with no overt attempt to explicate the relationship between them. Topic changes occur suddenly, rarely with more than an introductory phrase. Within topics there is tight cohesion, most frequently effected by the use of coreference. Cohesive ties across topic change points do not occur, leaving only the implicit commonality of subject area across all the topics to bind them into a text. In addition, where the source of information is noted, the particular type of reported speech which occurs focuses on the source of the information which the speaker uses, rather than the information itself.

Analysis of the Elder's Speeches: Like the student's speeches, there is a considerable variation in the elder's speeches. In general, as would be expected, they represent much more sophisticated performances than the student's speeches. The two "as if" speeches fall together in one class (See Examples 5 and 6) with a high degree of formality and ceremonial phrasing. The other two speeches are much more informative and are therefore more similar to the student's speeches (See Example 7). Nevertheless, certain similarities exist between these four speeches.

1 We are gathered here for a great purpose, and we are grate-
2 ful that this event took place so we could all come together.
3 And it should be like this. But first I address my elders,
4 my brothers, my sisters, my friends, and acknowledge their
5 presence, your presence. I have been asked to speak and yet
6 my words fall short. I may not measure up to what you
7 already know and I may not even add to what you already
8 know. But because this time has been allotted me I'm going
9 to try to fulfill the wishes of the people here, and say to
10 you that time was when elders got together in this manner
11 and they used to enjoy one another's fellowship, company.
12 Today, soon as a meeting of this kind is over with, all we
13 see immediately is dust, people in a hurry, going home. It
14 wasn't that way way back there. Our old people found it
15 hard to leave one another, sometimes they would embrace one
16 another, shed tears, and give words of encouragement one to
17 another as they left. And today we spend a lot of time
18 talking about love. But to live it is another thing. We
19 live in such a way so that people might say of us, is that
20 the kind of love he was talking about. So we live in a day
21 when we need to be cautious, and regardless of what position
22 in life that you might attain in this life, don't forget
23 that the foundation upon which you came from, those that
24 made it possible for you to stand and to see people eye to
25 eye and not be ashamed, was because of the suffering of our
26 elders, who made it possible for us. Let us never forget
27 that fact. I don't care how far in life you go, you go as
28 a result of the elders that went through a lot of suffering
29 in our behalf. And never forget, that blood flows in our
30 veins today. And if we can express love, and give help to
31 our fellow men, then do it. Go out with all the knowledge
32 you can attain. Let it be tempered with the same kind of
33 love they had for people. We thought they were shortsighted.
34 They couldn't read or write but they knew about life. They
35 saw way ahead, even beyond our time. They saw the little
36 ones that's not even born yet, that's gonna come up, they saw
37 the kind of world that was awaiting them, they saw ahead far
38 beyond our sight. But let us catch the same spirit in which
39 they lived, and thereby live in harmony with one another,
40 and express the true love flowing through our veins because
41 of them

EXAMPLE 5

Example 5, one of the "as if" speeches, consists of an introduction and a conclusion, separated by three topics: leaving, love, and the elder's foundation. Again, adjacent topics are related more implicitly than explicitly, and the speaker does not use cohesive devices across topic change points. There are, however, two important differences between this and the students' speeches. The constant reference to elders--there are 20 occurrences of this word, a pronoun substitute for it, or a lexical substitute for it, in 41 lines--makes the entire speech strongly cohesive. In addition, the conclusion is designed so that it refers back to each of the topics, reinforcing them and emphasizing their unity.

1 Thank you, thank you members of the family and descendants
2 of Chief Sitting Bear and Chief White Bear for permitting
3 me to be your announcer during your recognition of one of
4 your illustrious young men who recently returned from the
5 late war in Viet Nam. This is initiation day, as you know,
6 this is a Saturday in October. We gather here, in Anadarko
7 at the _________ campground annually, and it's good that we have
8 a beautiful day to observe these beautiful old customs. My
9 name is Scott Tonemah and I'm a member of the public rela-
10 tions department here, the Kiowa Veteran's Association, and
11 I'm happy to serve you people in whatever your desires are
12 this afternoon, because this is part of my job. But let me
13 ask your indulgence in the use of our own tribal language.
14 I must apologize that I have not had much practice recently,
15 actually for the past forty-five or so years, or longer even,
16 to use this language properly, but I will do the best I can
17 because this family has asked me to serve in this capacity.
18 I will try to serve in that capacity to honor Mr. Philip
19 Lujan, whom I will give the Kiowa name Toneok'e at this time.
20 Because I believe I have the authority in the contemporary
21 world, in modern days, because the old people are gone. He's
22 my nephew and this is why I take the liberty to give him a
23 Kiowa name, Toneok'e. Toneok'e refers to young chieftains,
24 or chiefs, war chiefs, and certainly his illustrious parents
25 bear this out. So I was a commissioned officer in World War
26 2, and served overseas, and this is why I am one of the
27 officers of the Kiowa Vetern's Association, and Tongkonga,
28 an ancient warrior society that we have decided to revive,
29 to be a part of our Kiowa Veteran's Organization.

EXAMPLE 6

Example 6 is a typical excerpt from a long ceremonial speech given in an "as if" situation. There is a topic change at line 18, where the speaker moves from the introduction to the first topic, and another in the middle of line 25. In the introductory phrase to the first topic, "I will try to serve in that capacity," there is a cohesive tie to "this capacity" in the previous sentence, and this cohesion helps to place the first topic, the naming, in the context of the speech. However, at the next topic change point (line 25) there is neither cohesion between the two topics, nor is there any use of structural devices to show the relationship between them.

1 . . .so then we had a school election. And the election got
2 so bad that I knew that the superintendent was driving up
3 and down the street with a shotgun laying across his lap.
4 Then I told my wife that we'd better move out of here. So we

5 went to South Dakota. And we like to starved to death and
6 froze to death up in South Dakota. All these things I'm
7 saying is because when I lived and grew up in the community
8 South of here, my Daddy could talk Creek and Cherokee. My
9 Grandpa could talk Cherokee, and English, but my Grandpa
10 could read Cherokee. And they never did teach me to talk
11 Cherokee. And if you don't know how to talk Cherokee, don't
12 let anybody teach you to talk it either. You sure get into
13 trouble. From what I have observed after going to school,
14 my Grandpa was the man in charge of the family. The things
15 that we were doing I know now were our customs. We used to
16 invite people who lived near _____ community, they were my
17 cousins, and they'd come over and visit us, and we'd get up
18 early in the morning. We'd all go down and wash by the run-
19 ning water in the cold and in the fog. Then that night we'd
20 go to Grandpa's house and then he'd put some water in a big
21 old black kettle like he would do when he was getting ready
22 to cook hog. Get it real hot then put the old covered wagon
23 and make a tent out of it. That's the way we used to take
24 our sauna. These things were to get us in good health and
25 be able to attend school in the rural areas regularly.

EXAMPLE 7

Example 7, from a longer speech of the informative type, appears not to have a great deal of explicity stated organization. As the example illustrates, there is no explictly stated relationship between many of the topics. The second topic, which begins on line 6, is introduced by a transition phrase which contains a cohesive reference to the previous topic, but that device does not explicate the relationship between the topics. Again, in line 13, the topic is changed with neither cohesive reference nor any statement of the relationship between the new topic and the old. This speech continues for half an hour using much the same structure--most of the time the topic is changed without introduction and with neither structural nor cohesive ties to the previous topic.

In the four elder's speeches we find the same basic structural components which are so apparent in the student's speeches. Topics are more implicitly than explicity related. These speakers use transition sentences and cohesive devices more frequently and much more effectively than the students do, but they still make no attempt to tie each topic to its neighbor, and so the relationships between topics remain implicit rather than being made explicit.

Conclusion: Although the data base which we have used is small, this analysis allows us to conclude that it is quite likely that the students are modeling the way they structure their speeches after their elders. Within speeches from each group and across all the speeches we found that, overwhelmingly, speeches were organized according to the implicit relationships between topics. Some speakers were more explicit than others in both groups, but even the most explicit depended more on the implicit relations between topics for organization than on any explicit marking of those relations. This implicit organization is reinforced by the lack of across-topic cohesion. Again the degree of cohesion varies from speech to speech, but even in the most cohesive speech (probably Example 5) there is little or no attempt to tie adjacent topics together.

Finally, in the student speeches, information sources were referenced in a manner which focused on the source rather than on the information or the speaker. We did not find this behavior in the elder speeches, probably due to the limited size of the sample.

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CULTURAL FACTORS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN SPEECHES

Ina C. Siler and Diana Labadie-Wondergem
University of Oklahoma

During the past twenty years, the United States has attempted to compensate for the injustices imposed upon ethnic minority groups in this country by instituting various programs that would enable minorities to economically and educationally catch up with the overculture. Even though these programs have been in existence for some time, the overculture still appears to be ambivalent about incorporating the values and customs of minority groups into any of its institutions. Lujan and Dobkins (1978) indicate that the dominant culture wishes to preserve the minority culture to conform to its expectations. The pressure probably is present in the classroom, since the classroom is the agent of the overculture. Therefore students who fail to measure up to acceptable standards of the overculture are penalized. The Native American student is one who finds himself faced with this dilemma (Cooley, 1979b).

As instructors of speech communication, we are particularly concerned with the problems Anglo teachers have evaluating Native American's speeches. The previous paper by Cooley and Lujan indicates that Native Americans organize their speeches differently than Anglos do. The organization of their speeches often leads the Anglo listener to conclude that they are rambling and difficult to follow, moving from topic to topic without any transitions. Moreover, Cooley and Lujan report that the patterns in the students' speeches are also present in the speeches of Native American elders. This phenomenon led us to believe that the speeches were not representative of students who had no knowledge of how to organize speeches, but were examples of a different style entirely. Furthermore, just as Anglo speakers have reasons for organizing their speeches a certain way and for using particular rhetorical strategies, so might Native American speakers have reasons for structuring their speeches as they do. In this paper, then, we attempt to identify the meanings of the structural patterns identified by Cooley and Lujan to the members of the culture.

In traditional Indian culture the family unit is very important. Generally, the family unit is more than the nuclear family; it might include grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins. All shared the responsibility of raising the children, but in particular, the elders of a family assumed the responsibility for caring for, educating and entertaining the children. The elders act as role models for the children. Although some of the children today are not exposed to family traditions, they are still exposed to elders at the tribal level. Elders are important members of the tribe; generally they are the initiators of events such as dances, dedications and pow wows, and the main speakers at these events. As the leaders of tribal communities, they serve as role models for the younger Indians. Cooley and Lujan have demonstrated that the same structural patterns which the students used occur in the speeches of the elders. We hypothesized that these students' patterns were acquired from older, more prestigious speakers. This leads us to the interesting question, what functions do those patterns have in Native American culture.

Ong (1973) indicates that the important characteristics of a culture seem to be deeply rooted in the communication patterns of its members. Isolating the culturally significant communication patterns and determining their functions within the culture are the first steps in highlighting the reciprocal relationship between a culture and the behaviors of its members. There is little reference to communication behaviors i.e., conversational interaction, joking, and rhetorical style, etc., in the literature about Native Americans, but research into the communication behaviors in other cultures would lead us into productive hypotheses concerning the possible behaviors of interest. For example, Thomas Kochman (1970) who has conducted ethnographic investigations of Black American speech behavior has described several different types of speech behaviors and their functions within that culture. He has noted that these speech behaviors are often carried into the classroom by Black students, and that they often create confusion for the teachers, who consider the behaviors unacceptable in the classroom. Other than our own work and that of our colleagues at the University of Oklahoma, there is no research into either the specific behaviors extant in modern Native American society, or their effect on Anglo classroom. We consider this work to be only the barest beginning.

As we indicated earlier, establishing the relationship between a culture and its communication patterns is important. In general, one learns about a culture through the behaviors of its members. The relationship can be best exemplified by examining the writings of sociolinguists. John Gumperz (1972), Dell Hymes (1972) and Richard Bauman (1975) represent a few of the scholars investigating "ways of talk" and society. This area, which is referred to as the ethnography of speaking, looks at more than the linguistic aspects of speaking. These authors are interested in the societal norms and values governing speech acts and the principles and strategies underlying the acts. They report that the organization of speech events in some cultures is directly related to the values, traditions and norms of that culture (Bauman and Sherzer, 1974). They also believe these characteristics hold true in other cultures. Cooley (1979b), summarizing the position that ethnography of speaking takes, indicates that variation in communication regardless of whether the focus is on linguistic phenomena or speaking behaviors, is governed by socially determined rules. These rules are subject to social interpretation, hence to societal pressures. These pressures affect a minority culture's use of the overculture's communication behaviors, and eventually the use of their own communication behaviors.

The sociolinguistic literature provides support for the argument that communication and culture are interwoven. Members of a culture also perceive themselves as being part of a specific communication community. The overall communication behaviors not only will serve different functions within the culture, but they also will mirror the culture. We hypothesize that the data Cooley and Lujan analyzed provides further evidence for the culture-communication relationship. To test this hypothesis further, we closely examined their findings and talked with Native Americans about how these patterns might be interpreted.

Cooley and Lujan identified three areas of speaking style which were common to the Native American speakers in their data, topical organization, cohesion, and reported speech. In general, the speeches tended to consist of three to five topics, all which seemed to relate to the subject of the speech. However, no explicitly stated relationships between the topics existed. An example of this can be taken from the data--especially in the student speech on the Moonie Cult which is Cooley and Lujan's example 1.

> 1 This will be on the Moonie cult, which is a cult started
> 2 by a gentleman who created every Moonie, which is, I guess,
> 3 a religious being that has no denomination, supposed to be
> 4 a unified--any denomination that you want. And he was
> 5 from Korea. He escaped Korea when the U.S. overcame this
> 6 POW camp where he was in jail at the time, and he went to
> 7 New York where he started his religious cult. He started
> 8 out as a Presbyterian, and he went to the Unification Church
> 9 which he started and designed himself. I was supposed to
> 10 talk over brainwashing techniques that the cults used. What
> 11 they do is they--the Moonies like people who are educated
> 12 or getting educated, that are young. They usually have
> 13 their own college canvassers recruiting, looking for people
> 14 that are depressed waiting for classes that had a test,
> 15 people who are worried about something, like low morale
> 16 people. And they invite them over to the group, which con-
> 17 sists of a lot of smiling faces and a lot of young people,
> 18 and try to impress them in that sort of state. The object
> 19 of their recruiting is to get the person to stay over a while
> 20 and visit and live with them for a little while. And what
> 21 was told to me was the best time to get a recruit was late in
> 22 the week, and if it was possible to keep him over and have
> 23 him miss class the beginning of the next week, chances were
> 24 that they had them in the cult. And brainwashing is a big
> 25 controversy right now...

As Cooley and Lujan indicate, the topic change points occur at lines 9 and 24. The speaker does not overtly indicate the relation between the different topics, she simply moves from topic to topic. This pattern held in the majority of the speeches they examined. Only one of the twelve speeches analyzed had real explicit markers of change of topic, and of how the topics related to each other and to the subject of the speech. That speech was recognizably different from the others.

In speeches that follow traditional Western Rhetorical norms, the transitional phrase of statement acts as a signpost to the listener, telling him where the speaker has been, where he is now and where he is going. Part of the speaker's credibility is determined by the extent to which he gives the impression of being an expert speaker. As Wilson and Arnold (1976) indicate, the speaker is expected to overtly lead listeners to his goal. The majority of introductory level speech communication texts even provide a list of appropriate transitional phrases and statements (Wilson and Arnold, 1976 and Monroe and Ehninger, 1976).

In Western norms, the speaker is also expected to organize his speech in a manner that will make it easier for his listeners to follow. Wilson and Arnold (1975) describe eleven different ways to organize a speech (pp. 156-164). An organizing strategy should fit the speech topic and purpose. However, all speeches analyzed by Cooley and Lujan used the topical plan of organization.

Indian norms appear to be quite different from Western norms. Indian norms merely require that the speaker provide information to the listeners. This information must be carefully selected and ordered. However, it is not the speaker's responsibility to overtly lead the listener to his goal. It is the listener's responsibility to decide the importance and relevance of each information topic, to choose from among them, and then to make up his own mind. Through this technique, the listener assumes an active role in the public speaking event. He appears to have more freedom to decide if and how he will be persuaded. This makes persuasive and even informative speaking quite different in Indian culture.

Cooley and Lujan also found that Native American student speeches contained cohesive devices which marked co-referential relationships, and tied the parts of the speech together, making it a text. Cooley (1979b) says that

> Cohesion using reference, is achieved by the use of pronouns or other words which stand in the place of the original referent noun. These words can either refer backwards to a co-referent that has already occurred, or forward to one which has not. (p. 3)

Their example of this was taken from a student speech on Indian Militancy.

1 The first instance of Indian militancy was I guess, well
2 not really the first but when the papers and everything
3 started writing about it and started coming into public
4 view, was the occupation of Alcatraz, and that was in San
5 Francisco Bay. These Indians, which weren't really Calif-
6 ornia Indians, they were Indians from all over the
7 United States and there really wasn't that many California
8 Indians in the group that occupied the island. But the
9 reason they took it over was because of an old treaty that
10 said the government when its not using any land it should

> revert back to the original owners which was the Native Americans. They had a lot plans for this place you know. They wanted to turn it into a cultural school, also a spiritual center, a museum. It was in San Francisco Bay but in San Francisco the Native American Center there had burned down, and so they didn't really have any place to go. They lasted out for about two winters, but all the time they was holding out you know there was always confrontations with the Federal marshals, which blockaded medical supplies, food, and sanitation facilities. Finally, in the spring of 1970, they cut off their electricity and water, but it wasn't until June of 1971 that they finally, you know, gave up. It was called the war of attrition but, you know, they really didn't accomplish that much but what they did accomplish they knew that they had to carry on and do something else.

Of thirty markers of coreferentiality, twenty-four are third person pronouns such as "they" or "it." These keep cohesion within the topic. However, and most significantly these devices are not used across topic changes.

Once again we compare Native American norms to Western norms. Native American speakers do not take on the role of leading the listener through the speech. As we stated earlier, it is the listener's responsibility to decide on the importance of each topic and to relate the topics to each other. To use cohesion as a device to relate topics, which would be appropriate in Western rhetoric, is therefore as inappropriate as it is to show that relationship with structural devices each as transitions and internal summaries.

Mr. Marcellus Williams, a Creek elder, cites several criteria important for judging a speaker's abilities. His criteria help to clarify the patterns uncovered by Cooley and Lujan.

1. General Knowledge. A good speaker must:
   a. be knowledgeable about himself and the people he grew up with;
   b. know the challenges of today and the needs of the time; and
   c. know how to cope with today from past knowledge.

2. Structure of Speech. A good speech should contain:
   a. visual analogies, illustrations and personification to create a picture in the minds of the listeners; and
   b. some statements which give the impression that the speaker is not worthy of speaking on his own behalf but is speaking only to fulfill an obligation to others.

Mr. Williams further explains that formulary sorts of statements and disclaimers are used to indicate the speaker's unworthiness, and to ask permission of his elders to speak. He refers to this as speaking through someone else; as not being sufficiently honorable or sufficiently knowledgeable to give the intended message. These statements were missing in the students speeches. We hypothesize that they did not occur in a class assignment because there was no one to ask permission to speak. More importantly, since the speech resulted from an assignment, such behavior was patently inappropriate.

The overall organization of Native American speeches and their culture can best be illustrated through a rhetorical model. We can view the subject of the speech as the hub of a wheel with the speaker on the rim. As the speaker proceeds through his speech, he moves along the rim to offer his audience a series of different perspectives on his subject. The different perspectives or topics represent the spokes of the wheel and appear as though they are being presented serially. All of the topics relate to the subject of the speech, but are seperate from each other. It is up to the listener to determine the extent of the separation of topics. If this analogy characterizes the structure of the speeches, it will be difficult to identify relationships between topics unless you are familiar with the style.

In Native American culture, it is the responsibility of the speaker to share with his audience his knowledge about a subject, and the listener is responsible for determining the worth of the information. Any indication of relationship between topics might be interpreted as an attempt to lead the audience towards a decision. This rhetorical strategy would be considered inappropriate. The spokes-on-the-wheel model seems to capture the essence of the structure of Native American speeches; including the different responsibilities of both speakers and listeners. To paraphrase one of the speakers in Cooley and Lujan's data, the speaker supplies the pieces in the puzzle, it is up to the audience to make a picture out of them.

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CLASSROOM IMPLICATIONS FOR AWARENESS OF EVALUATION OF CULTURALLY DEFINED DIFFERENCES IN NATIVE AMERICAN SPEECHES

Marla Scafe and Gretta Kontas
University of Oklahoma

In the first paper in this panel, "The Structure of Native American Speeches," Cooley and Lujan examined a series of Native American speeches. Their analysis centered on the question of organizational structure. Their investigation of these speeches presented by elders and students indicates that it is not a lack of organization which confuses the White listener, rather it is a lack of awareness of a different structural foundation. From this perspective, classroom experience with Native American and other minority students suggests that some of the most basic causes of negative educational experiences are rooted in the fact of differing sets of communication patterns and interaction norms (Lujan and Dobkins, 1978).

In the second paper, "Differences Between Native American and White Expectations of Speeches," Siler and Labadie-Wondergem depicted the cultural reasons for the Native American speech structure. Part of the confusion results from the White expectation of linear progression and the Native American organizational pattern which is analogous to the spokes of a wheel (Siler and Labadie-Wondergem, 1979; Cooley, 1979).

This paper is concerned with one segment of the White culture--the teacher and his/her expectations and their effect on written and oral evaluations of Native American speakers. Effective instruction is dependent upon (1) teacher awareness of his/her own expectations as being culturally based; (2) the expansion of these criteria to adapt to students from differing cultures; and (3) the explicit affirmation that either alternative is situationally valid. These alternatives involve the orientation of instructors of Native American classroom behavior and the instructor's own bias. In the long run it may be more significant to alter instructor's perception than student behavior. If instructors know how Native American classroom behavior differs, then they can begin to integrate their biases with the reasoning processes which occur.

As teachers, we need to increase our awareness of our expectations. What do we expect and why? About ten years ago, Lynn Csborn correlated survey data received from mailings to 241 public high schools in seventeen states. The replies of these bi-cultural classroom teachers were then placed into categories of "problems." One noted "problem" was comparatively inadequate training and background of the Indian pupil in needed research techniques, idea development and organizational skill" (Lynn Osborn, 1967, p. 188). But are these areas of a problem or are they differing standards by which the teacher and students evaluate performance? We maintain that the White culture may see deficiencies in the Native American speech because they are not aware of the criteria by which the Native American speaker has modeled his performances. The dominant White culture prescribes that informative and persuasive speeches be: (1) linear in progression of topic (which relates to Osborn's noted "problem" of the need for organizational skills); (2) compact units of thought (which relates to Osborn's noted "problem" of the need for idea development): and (3) an interpretation of the available data (which relates to Osborn's noted "problem" of the need for research techniques).

A survey of fourteen recently published basic public speaking and introductory speech communication texts reveals that public speeches should be organized on two levels: macrostructure and microstructure.

The macrostructure of a public speech deals with the introduction, body, and the conclusion. The texts suggest ways to introduce a speech. Some of these introductory devices are: personal reference, narrative, reference to the audience, reference to the occasion, anecdotes, startling statements, quotations, statistics, etc. The White student speaker is encouraged not to use disclaimers about his ability to speak. He is encouraged to present himself as competent and confident. "He (the speaker) need make no apologies for his ideas or his desire to share those ideas." (Connolly, 1974). In fact, the speaker is urged to remind the audience of any special qualifications which he has that might enable him to speak on the topic. On the other hand, Native Americans tend to persuade by not referring to themselves as experts but as humble offerers of an opinion. For example, in Cooley and Lujan's example 1, line 20, the student states: "and what was told to me was..." Native Americans use disclaimers quite often. In line 9 of the same example, the student states, "I was supposed to talk over brainwashing techniques...." In the elder's speech (see Cooley and Lujan's example 5) is an illustration of the use of disclaimers: "and I have been asked to speak and yet my words fall short. I may not measure up to what you already know and I may not even add to what you already know."

The structure of the speech body can take many forms. The organizational structures most often taught in classrooms by White teachers: temporal or time order sequence, spatial or geographical order sequence, topical-classification order, increasing difficulty order, cause and effect, ascending-descending order, problem-solution sequence, inductive/deductive reasoning, hierarchieal order, comparison-contrast, structure-function relationship, and a sequence determined by man's anticipated order of reasoning. When students are evaluated on their organization of a public speech, they are evaluated on whether or not the organizational pattern is clearly discernable to the teacher.

The conclusion of the speech typically takes the form of a summary of main points, a recapitulation or restatement of main points or ideas. Often the student is also encouraged to provide an added inducement, a personal challenge, or a statement of personal intention to complete the persuasive appeal.

These three elements, the introduction; body (with one of the recognized structural patterns); and the conclusion comprise a typical macrostructure of the White public speech. Any deviation from this format is evaluated negatively by the White teacher. This format continues to be a "problem" in the microstructure of the speech. The microstructure of a White public speech includes subpoints under major topic headings, amplification of major points, and style. An outline of the macrostructure depicts the microstructure filling in the gaps of the definitively linear progression. As was pointed out in the cultural implications paper, linear progression is not embraced by the Native American culture. Yet, when this progression does not appear in the students' papers or speeches, it is considered a "problem" (Cooley, SIETAT, 1979). Their organizational structure takes the form of spokes of a wheel. Their organization is more of an implicit collage of topics rather than a very explicit listing of one major premise and three to five subordinate minor premises found in the microstructure of White public speeches. For instance, one student's speech on suicide (excerpted in Cooley and Lujan's examples 2 and 3) covered three distinctive topics: reservations, urban areas, and the problems associated with boarding schools. An awareness of the style of organization used by Native American speakers can alter the teacher's perspective. Teachers' expectations should no longer be limited to the White textbook methods for organizing a speech. Other reasoning patterns which follow other logics of organization may be just as valid. Teachers should broaden their expectations to encompass other culturally acceptable modes of communication style.

The same appeal for the broadening of expectations holds true for the use of verbal topic change devices used by public speakers. Topic change devices are used in speeches and papers to connect one topic to other topics. They serve a transitional purpose--making a smooth switch from one premise to another. Examples of typical verbal topic change devices taught by White public speech teachers are the phrases: "not only," "but also," "in the first place," "the second point is," "in addition to," "notice that," "more important than all of these is," "in contrast to," "similar to this is," "this last point raises a question," "keeping these three things in mind," etc. Most White teachers regard public speeches that lack topic change devices as choppy. The analysis of the Native American students' public speeches indicated that for the most part, these speeches lacked verbal topic change devices. The Native American elders' speeches included some implicit topic change devices. Future video-tape analysis may show that the Native American public speeches include nonverbal topic change devices. Nonverbal topic change devices could very likely be culturally favored over more explicit verbal transitions which Whites employ.

The third area of differences between the expectations of the White culture and what actually occurs in the Native American model of oral presentation involves reported speech. Because the White culture is highly conscious of time and has a "scientific" bent, it expects speech students to provide "proof" for their statements. Proof is the "process of using evidence to secure belief in an idea or statement," according to Bettinghaus, 1972. We call the material of proof evidence. Some of the materials that the White culture and the Native American culture share in common appear to be: (1) comparison and contrasts which may include figurative and literal analogies; (2) descriptions and (3) restatement. Areas of White expectation which are not recognized similarly in the Native American culture are: (4) definitions to make the meaning of a word clear; (5) statistics or numerical data which lead to "facts;" and (6) quotations using other people's words to clarify ideas. White teachers expect that the student will not only give the person's name but when and where the source made the statement. It would also be expected that the student list the source of his information. White expectations require that the speaker indicate to his audience the relevance and significance of the supporting ideas that he advances. "Relevance suggests that the idea or reason pertains to the general proposition; significance suggests that the reason is an important one..." (Allen, 1977, p. 152). It appears that the Native American elders present the material and let the audience decide the relevance and importance for themselves.

In analyzing the classroom situation--especially the role of the teacher whose expectations lead to written and oral evaluations of speakers, we strongly believe that effective instruction is dependent upon (1) teacher awareness of his/her own expectations as being culturally based; (2) expansion of these criteria to adapt to students from differing cultures; and (3) explicitly affirming that either alternative is situationally valid. Lujan and Dobkins state: "What must happen is an increase of cultural sensitivity on the part of the individual instructor. In dealing with minority students, the instructor must be aware of his own assumptions about classroom performance and be ready to interpret the behavior of the student on a much broader range of possibility." We found that Native American students model a speaking performance that is not linear in progression. The teacher who evaluates Native American students needs to be aware of this when making his/her judgments. Besides becoming more aware of their own frame of reference for making an evaluation, the classroom teacher needs to become aware of differences that are culturally indicative of the minority students in the classroom. For example, the teacher in the speech classroom should also begin to look for nonverbal topic change devices as well as verbal ones.

The further development of projects of this nature depends on pedagogical training of classroom teachers who are Native American or/and who teach Native Americans. This training will enable teachers to analyze their pedagogical concerns and prepare teaching materials to heighten everyone's awareness of the culturally diverse public speaking styles. In light of the lack of such preparation, one has to wonder how well teachers can cope with the needs of Native Americans and what frames of reference they use to teach these skills. We feel the answer is obvious--teachers need more materials and need to broaden their perspective.

This paper was written with an underlying belief in cultural pluralism--the recognition of the right of each group to preserve its own cultural identity--and the belief that the teacher must be prepared to allow for an evaluation of this alternative as situationally valid. The student must be allowed to identify the alternatives and be taught how to make the appropriate choice.

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INTEGRATION OF ALTERNATIVE SPEAKING PATTERNS IN BICULTURAL CLASSROOM SITUATIONS

Louise Dauphinais
University of Oklahoma

The preceeding papers (Cooley et al., note 1) have examined the distinctive organizational patterns of Native American speeches and the cultural implications of these forms of address as well as their ramifications in the educational setting. This paper is addressed to two further issues: the dimension of changes and choices a Native American student must contend with, and the alternatives that the classroom teacher can (and must) provide to assist all students in developing communication competence.

In contemporary classroom settings all over the world, students and teachers arrive carrying with them unique, ingrained, culturally bound orientations of themselves, others and the past, present and future events and conditions around them that constitute their own world view (Hall, 1976; Watzlawick, 1976). Yet nowhere is it more evident than in the urban and rural classrooms in the United States that contain Native Americans that an implicit assumption regarding these world views is made. That assumption is: those orientations which diverge from that of the overculture are hardly appropriate to learning and they are of fruitless import and consequence educationally (Hall, 1976; Ryan, 1976, Cooley, note 2). But slowly and intermittently an imperative is being realized (Meriam, 1928; Kennedy, 1969; GAO, 1977). It is an imperative-legally, morally, ethically and educationally-that these divergent world views and cultural experiences be acknowledged and incorporated as learning experiences in and of themselves (Fuchs and Havighurst, 1972). Understanding these experiences and their impact on communication behavior is essential for student and teacher alike. The focus of this presentation is the development of classroom process, interaction and understanding that enables Native American students to make explicit, well informed choices about which communication messages, structures and styles to use. If students are provided specific instruction about styles appropriate in both cultures and then given the opportunity to practice both these stules, they can make decisions regarding the appropriateness of communication behavior and can discern the consequences of the lack of appropriate behavior. This awareness in a bicultural classroom increases the communicative competence of all students.

The role of the bicultural classroom in proferring instruction to this end is essential. As Edward T. Hall points out in his book, Beyond Culture, education, be it good or bad, influences the internal, mental processes as well as the more external and evident ways in which problems are solved; the structuring within the educational process itself molds our own individual thought processes (147). It is therefore essential that bicultural instructional settings function to address differences with mutual reciprocity and that they allow structural learning options so that classroom participants do:

1. Become aware of culturally embedded practices or rules. These practices are often "seen but unnoticed" qualities employed by members of that culture and which become clear only when they are "breached" or "violated" (Mitchell, 1978, 144), or juxtaposed in a situation where their function and practice can be examined and as we shall see later, contextuated.

2. Explore and come to grips with "the fact that there are deep cultural differences that must be recognized, made explicit, and dealt with before one can arrive at the underlying human nature we all share...." (Hall, 1976, 146).

If we do not understand the cultural rules that we operate by, then we cannot make explicit, well informed choices concerning them. As a result, the number of choices available to us is limited. In a bicultural classroom the critical awareness and knowledge of cultural diversity and cultural encapsulation is preliminary and basic to building knowledge of culturally differing structures and styles in public speaking; it is preliminary and basic to developing decision making ability that increases communication competence.

Designing a curriculum to meet these preliminaries and basics of divergent world view and cultural encapsulation is akin to what Hall mentions in attempting to talk about unconscious culture in concrete terms: it is "a little bit like talking about writing systems for language prior to the development of writing." (143) In spite of this warning, it is possible to base the rationale on which such a proposed curriculum is predicated on these four principles:

1) the knowledge of these differing underlying structures is not self evident but can be taught (Mitchell, 1978).

2) in order to move to an understanding of those areas or orientation that are similar, it is first necessary to discover and understand those things that are different (Hall, 1976).

3) the approach is neither to invade nor merely adopt (Freire, 1968) culturally oriented structures and processes but to incorporate mutually reciprocal exploration and consideration of specific alternatives.

4) satisfying these principles entails student-teacher reciprocity.

A number of assumptions are implicit and must precede the development of this instruction in divergent world view and decision making for classrooms with Native Americans. The first and most important of those assumptions is the existence of a trusting relationship between student and teacher and a respect for one another's values and world view orientations. Concurrently the establishment of bases of knowledge of cultural and therefore divergent orientations and differences (as outlined in the previous papers) is assumed as a predicate to the establishment of a decision making process. The fusion of these two assumptions is found in a third: a mandate of constructing and accepting mutual role and performance expectations within existing world view contexts within that classroom. All students have a right to be instructed in settings that meet these assumptions. In meeting these kinds of instructional responsibilities, it may be advantageous for teachers to re-examine their own discipline's cultural orientations as they relate to the evident structural differences which have been pointed out in the previous papers and the effect that those orientations have had throughout the development of the discipline.

A course of study for the college level classroom could be designed with the major premise that differences rightfully exist and that these differences can be examined through the structure and style of public speeches of both Whites and Native Americans. Such a course could be divided into four periods of approximately four weeks in length. The context would be sequenced as follows: first, an introduction to cultural encapsulation with a movement to critical awareness of world view orientations; second, an examination of the structure and style of Native American public address; third, a re-examination of the concepts embodied in the macrostructure and microstructure of White or European speaking models; and fourth, an examination of elements of decision making inherent in selection and utilization of alternative patterns of style and structure.

Specific activities to assist in moving from cultural encapsulation to critical awareness of world view orientations could include the following:

1) Study and discussion of the concepts of monochronic time and cultures, and polychronic time and cultures as explicated by Edward Hall (1976).

2) An analysis of Ivey's (1978) taxonomy of skills with which the "culturally experienced" individual can identify and describe behaviors.

3) A discussion of the relationship between Derald Wing Sue's (1978) quadrants of control and responsibility, and world view orientations.

4) The use of values clarification techniques.

5) An examination of Paulo Freire's delineation of cultural encapsulation as oppression of self and others.

6) Working through a tool such as The Cultural Simulator by Ross and Trimble (1976).

7) Participation in self-awareness exercises such as Evan's (1977) "What Is an Indian? What Is a White Person? A Fantasy Exploring Stereotypes."

8) Exploration of Identity Development Theory (Katz, et al., note 3).

Utilizing this awareness base, the course would then examine the structural and stylistic characteristics of Native American public speeches. The descriptive elements outlined in the previous papers provide the base of this section but ample illustration of these characteristics must be included in this section of study. Some of the most readily available materials that can assist in illustrating structural and stylistic points are the biographical or autobiographical books such as Black Elk Speaks and The Way to Rainy Mountain. Literary anthologies such as Cry of the Thunderbird (1972), I Have Spoken (1971), and Maestas' Contemporary Native American Address (1976) are useful for presentation and analysis of these characteristics. Even more important, though sometimes less readily available, are a number of local resources. Individuals from the local communities who agree to speak publicly for the class or who agree to be tape recorded speaking publicly are invaluable throughout this proposed course of study. Other locally appropriate and available resources may include oral and printed history collections of tribal archives (Brien et al., note 4), tribal media projects, universities and colleges, local historical societies and libraries that may contain printed, audio and sometimes even video taped public speeches that may be used in the classroom. Also worthy of consideration, although often expensive and difficult to obtain, are a number of 16mm films such as Long Road Home, The American Indian Speaks, The Dawn Riders and the trilogy of Lucy Swan, Charles Kills Enemy and Steve Charging Eagle. These materials all illustrate and reinforce both the culturally specific structural organization elements and divergent world view orientations.

The third segment of the course would then reexamine the concepts and expectations embodied in the macro and micro structures of the White or European speaking models as they have been outlined in the previous paper. This re-examination would also be a preparation for the fourth and final segment of the course which would deal with the decision making inherent in structural and stylistic choices in relation to the differing world views of audiences to whom the public speeches will be addressed.

At this point in the course students would realize the necessity of making choices among a range of alternative structures and styles. What must also be explicitly examined are the potential outcomes of the choices and the factors which will yield certain consequences. Breaking these elements into understandable components of generalized structure, audience, communication flow and barriers to that flow, and possible outcomes, students and teacher alike can discuss complexities and contingencies in the contexts of desired goals and explore alternative ways to reach these goals. An instructional framework within which to discuss these complexities may be constructed as follows:

Generally the two types of structural elements can be termed collapsible linear sequence (White/European pattern approach) and the hoop or spokes of a wheel perspective (Native American pattern); categories of audience may heuristically be termed either Native American, non-Native American or mixed. Combining alternately one structural factor with one audience factor would give rise to a potential communication flow, and the eventual outcomes of matching and mismatching (Cheek, 1976) may be generated by the students. Students may then be given deliberate opportunities to choose and rehearse structures, audiences, and flow and then experience the various outcomes. Again observation or utilization of examples external to the classroom would be invaluable. Concepts that would supplement the "matching" and "mismatching" of communication flow could also be included in this area of study. For example encoding and decoding and the models and process of decision making (D'Zurilla, 1971) could be included, although a note of caution is in order: almost all of the decision making models have been developed using only theoretical bases that appear (Dauphinais, note 5) to make them a linear progression from "problem" to "planned solution"; perhaps another model characterized by cyclic negotiation would be more appropriate (DeGross, note 6).

Part and parcel of the decision making segment of the course would be rehearsals of negative evaluation of public speeches that utilize one set of structural characteristics and are judged on the basis of an opposing set of criteria. Potential for mismatching communication and consequent negative evaluation would be discussed and illustrated. General examples, such as Native Americans communicating in arenas such as the American legal system should be discussed. The potential for mismatching communication when such speakers are perceived by White juries as speaking in an unorganized, ambiguous way should be discussed in detail. Such misperceptions are likely to lead to being responded to in a "discrepant," unexpected, and probably undesirable manner. Specific examples should also be included in the discussion to illustrate the complexity and realities of mismatching communication. For example, a Native American law student approached his law professor and requested that he be allowed to prepare a class project using his traditional structures and styles. Having received permission, he prepared and presented his project only to receive a failing grade. In spite of the fact that he was granted specific permission, the evaluative criteria by which the project was measured remained the same. Alternately, the same structure and style could be seen as very appropriate, appreciated, and culturally effective in a tribal event (Dauphinais, note 7).

Designing and implementing this course of study is intended to address the development of alternative patterns of public speaking and skill in making choices among them, the match between what is encoded by the sender and what is decoded by the receiver can in part be controlled by the knowledge, expertise and conscious choices of the sender. Instruction that provides this insight and skill is imperative to the development of communication competence. Specifically, creating an instructional cycle of trust and transition, understanding and acceptance of "more than one way of doing things," this communicative competency can be developed.

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PANEL DISCUSSION:

A STRUCTURAL CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS' SPEECHES AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR THE TEACHER

Bates Hoffer
Trinity University

The preceding papers by Cooley & Lujan, Siler & Labadie-Wondergem, Scafe & Kontas, and Dauphinais provide a good foundation for research into the communicative strategies of the native American. Their analyses of transcribed texts and videos are necessary bases on which to build. There are a few elements in their papers which do require some comment since they might be misleading to those unfamiliar with the subject or, at worst, totally misunderstood by readers.

The three elements I wish to cover, if only briefly, are (1) nature of rhetoric; (2) the notion of "Anglo" or "White" norms; (3) the goal of education. First, the nature of rhetoric. Rhetorical strategy, as defined in the papers, causes no problem but the comment that rhetoric is based on Western cultural norms is just not true. Rhetorical devices, such as ellipsis and inversion, can be and are defined in explicit linguistic terms. Thus ellipsis, for example, can be found in Chinese and Ibo and so on. The structure of languages varies so that any particular language may not share the several hundred devices. Here is a fruitful area for study: an explicit linguistic description of language—specific rhetorical devices. Now it is the case that if you are going to do a complete rhetorical analysis of a certain type of communicative performance in English, you must use the defined terms where applicable. This comment on the devices of rhetorical analysis is of course a minor one, but to an extent it applies to rhetorical strategies as well.

Second, the notion of "White" or "Anglo" norms. Some of the native American speech descriptions, such as transitionless topic change, can be found in the speeches of characters in the works of the Japanese author Saikaku, of the Chinese novelists of this millenium, of Snegiryov's speech in Dostoevsky's BROTHERS KARAMAZOV. In the countries represented, the speech is perceived as informal, less to zero educated, and so on. The inherent goodness, intellect, and so on, is not the issue; the issue is how the general public perceives the speaker. It is not just a "White" or "Anglo" or merely a general "western cultural" norm that is here concerned; it is an extremely widespread conception of what constitutes a "good" speech performance. Blaming the evaluation on the Anglos alone will eventually be counter-productive and self-defeating.

Two examples of the importance of transition in shifts of topic illustrate the spectrum of possibilities. On one end Mark Twain wrote an oft anthologized story in which the topic changes continually--with transition and with short term implicit relations between topics--with no total focus or goal.

> "I don't reckon them times will ever come again. There never was a more bullier old ram than what he was. Grandfather fetched

> him from Illinois--got him of a man by the name of Yates--Bill Yates--maybe you might have heard of him; his father was a deacon--Baptist--and he was a rustler, too; a man had to get up ruther early to get the start of old Thankful Yates; it was him that put the Greens up to j'ining teams with my grandfather when he moved west. Seth Green was prob'ly the pick of the flock; he married a Wilkerson--Sarah Wilkerson--good cretur, she was--one of the likeliest heifers that was ever raised in old Stoddard, everybody said that knowed her. She could heft a bar'l of flour as easy as I can flirt a flapjack."

The second example is from perhaps Chief Joseph's most famous speech. Note the opening with "heart" and the return to "heart" before the memorable conclusion; note the examples of "death" and "killing" which have touched his heart. This is truly the work of a master:

> Tell General Howard I know his heart. What he told me before I have in my heart. I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. Looking Glass is dead. The old men are all killed. It is the young men who say yes or no. He who led the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them, have run away to the hills and have no blankets, no food; no one knows where they are, perhaps freezing to death. I want time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs, I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever.

Certainly such oratorical skill is worth studying and teaching.

Third, the goal of language education. My home and areal dialect is laughable in the Northeast U.S.A. My *casual* and *colloquial* styles cause people from other areas of the U.S. to listen not to what I say but how I say it. One major goal of language education is to provide a style (or dialect if you prefer) which will enable the person to speak effectively to the most people. One goal of high school is, then, a *consultative* style, in which all information necessary to understand the message is included in it: such things as full articulation, grammatical integrity, discourse (rhetorical) structure (including transitions, cross-references, and so on as necessary). This style is the one used in business and diplomacy and education across the English-speaking spectrum. Another goal, and one more difficult to handle by the end of high school, is mastering the set of *frozen* styles, the very formal strategies we use for different types of public appearances, of written communication, and so on. No one is a native speaker of the *consultative* or *frozen* styles; they must be taught and they must be learned. The problem, then, comes down to the definition of the goal of education of native American children. Are they to be educated to speak only to each other or are they, as is the case with all other English speakers, to be taught to speak effectively to the greatest number? The preceding papers might to some seem to imply that they should be taught to speak only to themselves. I trust that the actual meaning is that teachers should know the rhetorical strategies of the native American, should respect it, should help mold it while at the same time teaching other styles and strategies.

In conclusion, the foundation for studying native American communicative strategies is well laid. The few points herein do not weaken the strength of that foundation.

III

ETHNOMUSICOLOGY AND LINGUISTICS: AN ANALYSIS OF NATIVE AMERICAN SONG

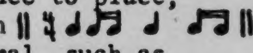
swallow viii

ABSTRACTS

BAHR, DONALD (Arizona State University) FOUR PAPAGO RATTLESNAKE SONGS: A short and closely knit set of four rattlesnake curing songs is examined to show the issues of weaving that run through the set. These issues have to do with rattlesnakes' movements, sounds, and emotions.

GIFF, JOSEPH (St. John's Village, Laveen, Arizona) PIMA BLUE SWALLOW SONGS OF GRATITUDE: Blue swallow songs, a kind of dancing song, mention many things besides swallows. It is best to say that they express gratitude towards the whole of creation. This paper explains how that is so, starting with Pima concepts on creation and the creator, introducing the ideas of gifts and gratitude, and ending with six examples of swallow songs.

HAEFER, J.RICHARD (Arizona State University) SONGS OF A PAPAGO CELKONA CYCLE: The relations between Pima song texts and the elements of music are examined with particular attention given to rhythmical and formal characteristics. The development of a Piman song language consisting of consonant-vowel clusters is used as a basis for establishing word groups of a specific number of rhythmic beats. From these beat patterns a basic metric organization for the songs of a cycle is established. Specific disturbances occur throughout the cycle for textual rather than musical reasons, although they affect the music to a large extent. The need for further research in this area is suggested.

HART-GONZALEZ, LUCINDA (Georgetown University) THE HUAYÑITO: A MULTI-LINGUAL MULTIPLE-CHANNEL EVENT: The huayñito (huayño in Peru) is a form of folksong native to the Quechua-speaking Indians of Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador. While the precise form varies from place to place, it is basically defined by the underlying rhythm pattern . It has features characteristic of Quechua music in general, such as variable phrase length, repetition, minor melody with development in the relative major, and final resolution from dominant to tonic minor.

This ethnographic account is based upon observation of US-resident Bolivian amateur and semi-professional huayñito-players, as well as a variety of commercial and non-commercial tapes from Bolivia and Peru. The huayñito is consdered to be a communicative event analyzable into three distinct, interrelated channels of communication. The interplay of the two linguistic channels results in the simultaneous use of two languages, Quechua and Spanish. The channels are described as follows:
(1) Instrumental - a non-linguistic channel at the base of the event structure, often ocurring without sung speech. It functions primarily to define musical key, tempo and song selection. Players are primarily male.
(2) Sung Speech - the focus of the event, Quechua and Spanish alternate by verse, by line, or by code-mixing, e.g.:

(Spanish) Fuerza, si? Fuerza, no?	Force, yes? Force, no?
(Quechua) Kicharillaway, viditay!	Please open (your heart) to me, my life ! dear

In this example and the following two lines from the same song, Spanish and Quechua alternate by line. In addition, the Spanish term of endearment, vida (life) is mixed in. (3) Intoned Speech - so called for its exaggerated intonation pattern unlike either singing or normal speaking. There are a number of non-linguistic and Spanish calls which accompany the event. Players used a set of obligatory calls (e.g. Adentro! 'Enter!'), to coordinate the first two channels. Both players and listeners engage in a variety of optional calls to create a lively atmosphere and spur players to greater performance. Both males and females use the last two channels.

The codes and channels used in the event will be briefly described, including the roles of each instrument and their imitation of other channels. Examples of language alternation will be detailed. It will be further demonstrated that the three channel distinction greatly simplifies description of participant performance and language alternation.

RIVAS, ALBERTO (University of Massachusetts) THE STRUCTURE OF BILINGUAL GUARANI-SPANISH SONG: This paper studies two aspects of the structure of the Guaraní-Spanish song; the nature of the boundaries between monolingual spans and the distribution of these spans. These two aspects seem not to be related at first, but they turn out to be intimately connected.

It would appear that, at least for bilingual Guaraní-Spanish song, a phonological procedure for the determination of code-switching has been found. Two kinds of span boundaries are proposed: a weak span boundary that does not define an instance of code-switching, and a strong span boundary that does in fact define an instance of code-switching. Considering only the strong span boundaries, regular patterns for the distribution of Guaraní and Spanish spans in the bilingual Guaraní-Spanish song can be established.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE BILINGUAL GUARANI-SPANISH SONG

Alberto M. Rivas
University of Massachusetts/Amherst

Iñepyrũhápe oí va'ekué ka aguý
'In the beginning there was the forest'

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the structure of the bilingual Guaraní-Spanish song with respect to the switching of code between Guaraní and Spanish.

Guaraní is a language that belongs to the Tupí-Guaraní family, which extends over a wide area of South America: at several points along the Amazon river and tributaries, in the south of the French Guiana and in neighboring Brazilian regions, in Paraguay and adjoining regions of Brazil and Bolivia, in scattered areas of Bolivia, the south of Brazil and the north of Perú, and in the northeast of Argentina. Inside the Tupí-Guarantí family two branches can be distinguished: a northern group, called Tupí or Ne'engatú, and a southern group, called Guaraní or Avañe'ẽ.

Guaraní is spoken mainly in Paraguay, by 95% of the population, of which about 40% are monolingual, and the rest are bilingual in Guaraní and Spanish. It is also spoken in the bordering regions of the Brazilian Mato Grosso and Paraná states, and in the Argentine provinces of Corrientes, Misiones, Formosa and Chaco.

2. Instances of Code-Switching

In order to define the purpose of this paper, let us call a sequence of Guaraní words not interrupted by any Spanish word a Guaraní span; and similarly, let us call a sequence of Spanish words not interrupted by any Guaraní word a Spanish span. Let us call the boundary between these monolingual spans a span boundary. This paper studies two aspects of the structure of the Guaraní-Spanish song: the nature of the span boundary, and the distribution of the Guaraní spans and the Spanish spans. These two aspects seem not to be related at first sight, but they turn out to be intimately connected.

One of the basic goals of a Theory of Code-Switching is to establish a systematic way of determining when an instance of code-switching occurs. A common criterion that has been often used is the following:

> When a language-2 word is introduced in a language-1 context, there is code-switching if and only if this word retains the phonology of language-2.

This paper defines a phonological procedure to determine instances of code-switching between Guaraní and Spanish, and makes some suggestions about general procedures to be used universally. By doing this, it is shown that even if a language-2 word introduced in a language-1 context retains its own phonology, code-switching does not necessarily occur.

2.1

Some Spanish words have entered the Guaraní lexicon completely. These words are characterized because they have changed their Spanish phonological shape to conform to Guaraní word and sound patterns. Their spelling has also changed to reflect the Guaraní pronunciation. For example,

(1) Sp. corazón [korasón] → Gu. korasó [kõr̃ãsṍ] 'heart'

Conversely, some Guaraní words have entered the Spanish lexicon completely, changing their Guaraní phonological shape to conform to Spanish word and sound patterns. For example,

(2) Gu. kuñata'ĩ [kũñãtã?ĩ́] → Sp. cuñataí [kuñataí] 'girl'

Therefore, when a Spanish word that has been lexicalized as a Guaraní word is used in Guaraní discourse, or, conversely, when a Guaraní word that has been lexicalized as a Spanish word is used in Spanish discourse, we do not have an instance of code-switching.

2.2

On the other hand, some Spanish words are found in Guaraní discourse retaining their own Spanish phonology. These words are not considered to have entered the Guaraní lexicon, but are rather Spanish words used in Guaraní. Consequently, they retain their Spanish spelling. For example,

(3) In Guaraní discourse: xe vida mĩ [1] 'my life' 'vidita mía"[2]
my-life-DIMIN
where vida is pronounced as in Spanish [ƀiđa].

Conversely, some Guaraní words are found in Spanish discourse retaining their own Guaraní phonology. For example,

(4) In Spanish discourse: mi mborayhú 'my love' "mi amor"

where mborayhú is pronounced as in Guaraní [^{m}boraɨhú]

2.3

The phenomenon described in (2.2) occurs not only with isolated words, but also with short sequences of words, usually constituting a syntactical phrasal category. For example, in Guaraní discourse, instead of just the Spanish word *vida*, a Spanish prepositional phrase like

(5) *de mi vida* 'of my life'

will be found.

Or, conversely, in Spanish discourse, instead of just the Guaraní word *mborayhú*, a Guaraní phrase like

(6) *xe mborayhú mĩ* 'my little love' "mi amorcito"

will be found.

The introduction of Spanish words or phrases in Guaraní discourse, or the introduction of Guaraní words or phrases in Spanish discourse could then be considered as instances of code-switching. However, the words that participate in this process do not remain absolutely unmodifiable, and different degrees of influence from the environment are found.

In order to understand how this inference process works, we have to look at two phenomena that are crucial for this analysis; one occurs in Spanish, the other occurs in Guaraní. Let us consider these two phenomena.

3. The Spanish Voiced Stops

In Spanish, the voiced stops /b,d,g/ have two phonetic realizations:

a) [b,d,g] in absolute initial position (i.e., after a pause), and after a nasal consonant (/d/ also after /l/);

b) [ƀ,đ,g] elsewhere.

For example,

(7) dado [dađo] un dado [undađo] el dado [eldađo] este dado [esteđađo]
vivo [biƀo] un vivo [umbiƀo] el vivo [elƀiƀo] este vivo [esteƀiƀo]
gato [gato] un gato [uŋgato] el gato [elgato] este gato [estegato]

In the regions in which Guaraní is spoken, the Spanish /y/ has a pair of affricate/fricative allophones in the same environments as the voiced stops. It is pronounced:

a) [ǰ] in absolute initial position and after a nasal consonant;

b) [ž] elsewhere.

For example,

(8) yoyó [ǰožo] un yoyó [uñǰožo] el yoyó [elžožo] este yoyó [estežožo]

I will use henceforth the term voiced stops to refer to the four consonants in question, /b,d,y,g/, with the allophones [b,d,ǰ,g] and [ƀ,đ,ž,g] respectively.

3.1

If a Spanish voiced stop is found immediately to the right of a span boundary, however, a different situation occurs. Since all Guaraní words end in a vowel, cases (b) are the cases to be expected, that is, the phonetic realization of /b,d,y,g/ should be [ƀ,đ,ž,g]. But this is not always so, and both sets of allophones are found. For example, for the /d/:

i) [đ] xe reloj pe aveí diez y treinta ohexáuká
[še řeloȟ pe aveĩ đi̭és i tréi̭nta ohešáuká]
(9) 'my-watch-in also ten-thirty sent-to-observe'

ii) [d] javoráire xe añó mí de misterio soñoliento
[ǰavorái̭re še ãñõ mĩ de mistéri̭o soñoli̭énto]
'grove-in my-alone of-mystery-dreamy'

3.2

This phenomenon suggests that there are two classes of boundaries in the presence of code-switching: a boundary like in (9.i) that does not affect the behavior of the Spanish voiced stops; and another boundary like in (9.ii) affecting the behavior of the Spanish voiced stops as if it were absolute initial position, or a pause.

In order to refer to this process, let us call the boundary of ex. (9.i) a weak span boundary (ǂ),given that it behaves like a regular word boundary with respect to the behavior of the Spanish voiced stops. Let us call the boundary of ex. (9.ii) a strong span boundary (⋕),given that it behaves like the beginning of an utterance, or a pause, with respect to the behavior of the Spanish voiced stops.[3]

We will come back to these two types of span boundaries after having analysed the second phenomenon.

4. Guaraní Nasalization

The phonemes of Guaraní are shown in the following table:

Consonants: p t s š k h k^{w} ?
^{m}b/m ^{n}d/n ǰ/ñ ^{ŋ}g/ŋ $^{ŋ}g^{w}$ $ŋ^{w}$
v/ṽ l/l̃ r/r̃ g/g̃ g^{w}/$\tilde{g}^{w}$

Vowels: i/ĩ ɨ/ɨ̃ u/ũ e/ẽ o/õ a/ã

The representation a/b indicates two allophones of the same phoneme, except for stressed vowels, in which case both the oral and nasal segments are phonemes.

Guaraní orthography has suffered many changes since the time when the Jesuits deviced the first spelling system in the XVII century. The orthography adopted in this paper is the one established by the Guaraní Academy "Cultura Guaraní" and the "Congreso Internacional de Montevideo" of 1950.

The orthographic symbols which are different from the phonetic symbols shown in table (10) are the following:

[š] → x [ǰ] → j [ŋ] → ng[4] [ʔ] → '

[k^{w}] → ku [g^{w}] → gu [ŋ^{w}] → ngu [ɨ] → y

Nasalization is written only on stressed vowels, since this is the place where it is phonemic, and is represented with a ~.[5]

4.1

Nasalization is a very noticeable characteristic of Guaraní phonology. According to the presence or absence of nasal segments, a Guaraní utterance can be subdivided into nasal and oral spans. The pairs of allophones shown in table (10) correspond to the occurrence of the phoneme in an oral/nasal span. Obstruents, which are also the voiceless segments, can occur in both oral and nasal spans, remaining unchanged.

The nasal spans are created through a process of spreading of nasalization. Guaraní nasal segments spread nasalization toward the left to adjacent segments, under certain conditions. See Gregores and Suárez (1967) and Rivas (1974) for a detailed description of this matter. The spreading of nasalization converts all voiced segments into nasal segments, performing the following changes:

(11) ^{m}b → m, ^{n}d → n, ǰ → ñ, ^{ŋ}g → ŋ ^{ŋ}g^{w} → ŋ^{w}

For example,

/a-ǰe-haɨhú/ → [ažehaɨ̭hú] 'I love myself' (oral)

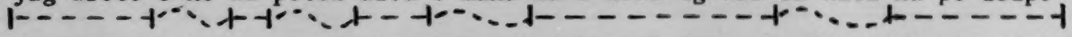
(12) /a-ǰei-nupã́/ → [ãñẽĩ̭nũpã́] 'I hit myself' (nasal)

/a-^{m}bo-vaí/ → [ã^{m}bovaí] 'I make ugly' (oral)

/a-^{m}bo-porã́/ → [ãmõpõrã́] 'I make beautiful' (nasal)

The following utterance exemplifies oral and nasal spans:

ǰagʷareté õ hẽⁿdú pẽtẽí aɨvú õ mãnã́ ha o hešá agʷará õĩ kɨ̃tĩ́ há pe ɨsɨpó



'tiger he-hear a noise he-look & he-see fox he-cut-COMP-ACC liana'

'the tiger heard a noise, looked around, and saw the fox cutting lianas'

4.2

If a nasal Guaraní word is found immediately to the right of a span boundary, nasalization spreads onto the Spanish word to the left only if the Spanish word replaces a Guaraní word that would receive spreading of nasalization from the right.

For example, the bilingual prepositional phrase de tu kunu'ũ replaces the Guaraní postpositional phrase ne kunu'ũ rehé as can be seen in (14) and (15).

(14) xe mandu'á de tu kunu'ũ [šẽmãⁿduˀá đẽtũkũnũˀṹ]
'I remember your tenderness'

(15) xe mandu'á ne kunu'ũ rehé [šẽmãⁿduˀá nẽkũnũˀṹ rehé]
'I remember your tenderness'

We propose, then, that only a weak span boundary occurs between the Spanish word tu and the Guaraní word kunu'ũ in (14), that is, the span boundaries in (14) will be as follows

(16) xe mandu'á ‡ de tu ‡ kunu'ũ

4.3

Furthermore, if a Spanish span precedes a Spanish word or sequence of words that has received nasalization from a Guaraní span, a strong span boundary will be found between the Spanish span and the Spanish nasalized word, as can be seen in (17),

(17) al arrullo suave de tu kunu'ũ [alařû́losɥábe dẽtũkũnũˀṹ]
'to the soft murmur of your tenderness'

while the span boundary found in the same position in (16) is a weak span boundary. The behavior of the voiced stop /d/ in sentences (14) and (17) agrees with the type of span boundary found in each case, since it is a [đ] in (14) and a [d] in (17). The span boundaries in (17) will be as follows

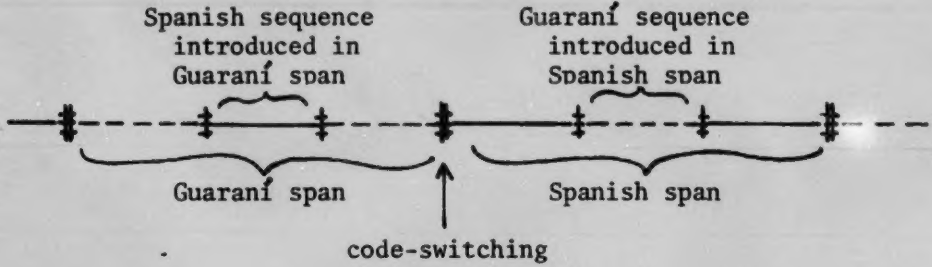
(18) al arrullo suave # de tu ‡ kunu'ũ

5. Role of the Span Boundaries

The behavior of the Spanish voiced stops and of the Guaraní spreading of nasalization suggests that only words or short sequences of words, usually phrasal categories, can be separated from the context by weak span boundaries; while larger phrases or utterances are separated from the context by strong span boundaries.

We postulate that words in Language-2 that are surrounded by weak span boundaries are introduced in a Language-1 span without changing the nature of the span; while strong span boundaries separate monolingual spans producing what is usually called code-switching. Graphically,

(19)


Spanish sequence introduced in Guaraní span
Guaraní sequence introduced in Spanish span
Guaraní span
Spanish span
code-switching

These two phenomena provide, then, a phonological procedure for determining instances of code-switching. This phonological procedure confirms the generally assumed fact that code-switching occurs mainly between major phrasal categories, and not just between words, as is exemplified in sentences (14) through (18).

6. The Structure of the Song

If code-switching is defined as occurring whenever a language-2 word is introduced in a language-1 discourse, even if the language-2 word retains its own phonology, the structure of a Guaraní-Spanish song cannot be precisely described with respect to the distribution of Guaraní spans and Spanish spans. This definition of code-switching would imply that code-switching occurs whenever a span boundary, either strong or weak, is present. In this case, the interspersing of language-2 words in language-1 utterances appears random.

However, if code-switching is defined as occurring when and only when there is a strong span boundary, then a clear structure emerges.[6]

Let us define the following symbols:

S stands for a Song, V for a Verse, H for a Half-verse, L for a Line, M for a Monolingual span, sp for a Spanish span, gu for a Guaraní span. Using these symbols, a set of Phrase-Structure rules can be written in order to characterize the structure of a bilingual Guaraní-Spanish song, as follows

(20)
a) $S \rightarrow V^*$
b) $V \rightarrow H\ H$
c) $H \rightarrow L\ L\ (L)$
d) $L \rightarrow M\ (M)$
e) $M \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} sp \\ gu \end{Bmatrix}$

The major types of structures are summarized below.

6.1 Regular structure at the level of the Verse

a) Same structure for each Line

Ex.: Lejanía, by H. Giménez[7]

$V \rightarrow H\ H,\quad H \rightarrow L\ L,\quad L \rightarrow sp\ gu$

Lejano amor primero de mi niñez rohexá ga'ú
Lejano amor sublime ensueño azul mamõpa reimẽ
Distante queda el recuerdo de aquellas tardes del mborayhú
Que acuden a mi memoria como bandada de pykasú

Quisiera volver a ver tu rizo de oro cual tupãsý
Que Dios por verte hermosa enjoyó con rayos del kuarahý
Por eso vuela hacia ti esta mi canción del texaga'ú
Impregnada de dolor porque ya no vienes xe mo kunu'ũ

b) Same structure for each Half-Verse

Ex.: Ykuá Ka'aguý, by E. Fernández

$V \rightarrow H\ H,\quad H \rightarrow L_1\ l_2,\quad L_1 \rightarrow sp,\quad L_2 \rightarrow sp\ gu$

Oh fuente bendita de mansos murmullos
Escucha al bohemio que está mombyrý
Su lira templada en suaves arrullos
Te rinde sus cantos ykuá ka'aguý

Oh mago poeta de erótico sueño
Que llegue a tus manos mi humilde yvotý
Que hoy la deshojo del huerto norteño
Mil veces en nombre de ykuá ka'aguý

c) Same structure for each Verse

Ex.: Sombra de Ausencia, by E. Gayoso

$V \rightarrow H_1\ H_2,\quad H_1 \rightarrow L_{11}\ L_{12},\quad L_{11} \rightarrow sp,\quad L_{12} \rightarrow sp\ gu$

$H_2 \rightarrow L_{21}\ L_{22},\quad L_{21} \rightarrow gu\ sp,\quad L_{22} \rightarrow sp\ gu$

Largos días duró mi ausencia pues tú eres mi consuelo
Mi amor, mi estrella, mi cielo reikóva xe mbo sufrí
Javoráire xe añõ mí de misterio soñoliento
De vez en cuando lamento ne pore'ỹ arosentí

La blanca aurora refleja su luz de oro al oriente
La grata hora naciente guyrá kuéra omuangekói
Ha xéve guarã heñõi el infortunio inclemente
Y tú mujercita ausente ni vy na xe ra'arõi

6.2 Regular structure at the level of the Song

a) Verses alternate between Guaraní and Spanish

Ex.: Paraguaî, by M. Ortiz Guerrero

$$S \rightarrow (V_1\ V_2)^*,\quad V_1 \rightarrow gu,\quad V_2 \rightarrow sp$$

Ajahe'óta pe nde apytépe
Na rotivéigui xe vy'á ỹ
Ahypýi míta ko pyharépe
Xe resaýpe Paraguaý

Plaza Uruguaya, selva aromada
Oh pajarera de mi canción
Orgullo mío, cúpula amada
El Oratorio de la Asunción

b) A particular Verse structure alternates with Guaraní Verses and Spanish Verses

Only some examples of Song structures will be given.

i) $S \rightarrow V_1\ V_1\ V_s\ V_g$, where S_1 has a particular bilingual structure, and $V_s \rightarrow sp$, $V_g \rightarrow gu$

ii) $S \rightarrow V_1\ V_g\ V_1\ V_s$, where S_1 has a particular bilingual structure, and $V_g \rightarrow gu$, $V_s \rightarrow sp$

6.3 Irregular structures

There are almost no bilingual songs with irregular structures; but the few songs that do not have a regular pattern usually conform to one of the regular structures with some irregularity in one or two lines. The following song is an example of an irregular structure.

Epu'ã Mína Sapy'áité, by A. Franco

If the structure were regular, it would be as follows

$$S \rightarrow V\ V\ V,\quad V \rightarrow H_1\ H_2,\quad H_1 \rightarrow L_{11}\ L_{12},\quad L_{11} \rightarrow sp,\qquad L_{12} \rightarrow gu$$

$$H_2 \rightarrow L_{21}\ L_{22},\quad L_{21} \rightarrow gu\ sp, - L_{22} \rightarrow sp\ gu$$

However, the second verse has an irregular structure in the fourth line, namely, $L_{22} \rightarrow$ gu, since the complete pattern of Guaraní and Spanish spans is

first verse:	sp	gu	gu/sp	sp/gu
second verse:	sp	gu	gu/sp	gu
third verse:	sp	gu	gu/sp	sp/gu

En bella noche serena bajo la luz de mi cielo
Aguahẽ ne rovetãme, kuñataĩ jukeyeté
Reké poräité javé a interrumpí la ne sueño
Porque soy un arribeño oikóva ne mbo jeré

Soy el bohemio del bosque, me llamo Guyrá Campana
Oimẽ mãva ne xe ãma, rehendú ko asajé kué
Guyrá ahy'ó finaité trovador de la montaña
Ha upéva hĩna ko'ãga oúva nde rexásé

Yo quiero qùe te levantes ante que aclare el día
Ponóike la lux del día ombo pirú nde potý
Xavé ta jevý jeý en la desierta montaña
Porque soy Guyrá Campana, guyrá ijagárra sepý

This song is a good example of a case in which there are several instances of language-1 words in a language-2 span that do not cause code-switching, otherwise the structure of the song would be perturbed. For example,

verse 1, line 3:	la ne	gu words in sp span
verse 2, line 3:	fina	sp word in gu span
verse 3, line 2:	la luz del día	sp phrase in gu span
verse 3, line 4:	agarra	sp word in gu span

7. Conclusion

It seems that, at least for the bilingual Guaraní-Spanish song, a phonological procedure for determining instances of code-switching has been found. Two kinds of span boundaries have been proposed: a weak span boundary that does not define an instance of code-switching, and a strong span boundary that does define an instance of code-switching. Considering only the strong span boundaries, regular patterns for the distribution of Guaraní and Spanish spans in the bilingual Guaraní-Spanish song can be established.

The next task to be undertaken in this direction is to study the behavior of span boundaries in Guaraní-Spanish prose and colloquial speech, and to determine the universal validity of these claims by analysing other pairs of languages in contact. The phenomena described in this paper can be used as a first step towards the discovery of the particular phonological processes that may be relevant in establishing the instances of code-switching for each possible pair of languages.*

FOOTNOTES

1. When Guaraní and Spanish words coexist in the examples, Guaraní words will be underlined with a broken line, and Spanish words will be underlined with a full line.

2. When a Spanish translation can clarify the meaning, it will be enclosed between double quotes, following the English translation.

3. I have not studied this interaction in bilingual English-Spanish discourse; but, at least for my own speech, similar principles seem to hold. For example, I have found myself saying sentences like the following:

   (i) how do you say Buenos Aires en inglés? (sic)
   [háw du yu séi̯ buénos áires en inglés]
   with a Spanish pronunciation of the word Buenos Aires, and apparent code-switching from English to Spanish, opposed to

   (ii) ¿cómo se dice Buenos Aires en inglés?
   [kómo se đíse bu̯énos ái̯res en inglés
   Notice that in (i) the /b/ is pronounced as [b], while it should be pronounced as [ƀ], given Spanish sequences like rey bueno [réi̯ ƀuéno] 'good king'

4. The orthographic symbol ng is used for both ᵑg and ŋ; correspondingly, ngu is used for both ᵑgʷ and ŋʷ.

5. This spelling system also uses - instead of ~ for nasalization. Other spelling systems use ch instead of x, c/qu instead of k, jh instead of h, y instead of j, b instead of v, î/ĩ instead of y, în/ĩn/ì instead of ỹ, and ¨/^ instead of ~.

6. This regularity in the distribution of Guaraní and Spanish spans guarantees that, in most cases, the rhyming words are in the same language. Furthermore, in many cases in which a Guaraní word rhymes with a Spanish word, it is because one of the rhyming words has been introduced in the span of the other language without having changed the nature of the span.

7. Songs are usually very long, so that only two verses are given as examples.

* I would like to thank Florence Barkin for suggesting that I present this paper at the SWALLOW VIII Meeting.

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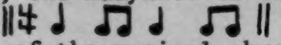
THE HUAYÑITO: A MULTILINGUAL, MULTI-CHANNEL EVENT

Lucinda Hart-González
Georgetown University

Introduction

The *huayñito*, variously called *huayño* or *huayno*, is a popular song and dance form native to the Quechua-speaking areas of South America, particularly Peru and Bolivia. While its precise form varies from place to place, the huayñito is easy to recognize by its underlying rhythm pattern . Typical of Quechua music in general, the length of the musical phrase varies from song to song and is not necessarily based on the unit four. The scale is pentatonic with minor melody developing in the relative major. The use of parallel third harmonies increases the range of notes actually used. It is a lively song form, with lyrics expressing a broad number of topics.

Jesús Lara (1958) says that the verbal and musical art of the Incan Empire underwent radical change following the Spanish Conquest. Court poets, the *arawiku*, naturally disappeared altogether. Religious and dramatic forms became solely the domain of the Catholic Church. However, popular forms, including the sad *yaraví*, the lively *huayñito*, and the more contained *samacueca* (now generally called *cueca*), continued to develop, sometimes by hispanicizing.

Almost everywhere, the huayñito shows signs of Western influence, including the use of vocal harmony, Western instruments such as guitar, accordion, and brass, and the use of varying amounts of Spanish both in the song lyrics and in the whole event context. A number of commercially recorded huayñitos are sung entirely in Spanish.

This paper addresses the problem of how and where code alternation occurs in the huayñito. The study is based on eight months of participant-observation among a group of Quechua-Spanish bilinguals, mostly from Bolivia, who presently live around Washington, D.C., and on a number of commercial and non-commercial recordings from Bolivia and from Ayacucho, Peru.

Channels of Communication

Albó's (1970, 1974) rules of language choice among Quechua-Spanish bilinguals make mention of the *expressive* channel, in which he includes singing. In terms of communication as a whole, linguistic and nonlinguistic, this use of the term *channel* is too broad since it does not distinguish instrumental music from singing. I prefer to think of expressivity as a function of communication, based on Smith's work on functions of language (1972) and to distinguish channels of communication on the basis of perceived differences in sound quality, such as those which distinguish singing, yelling, or whispering from ordinary speaking.

The huayñito is analyzable into three channels of communication: the instrumental channel, the sung speech channel, and the intoned speech channel. The two roles which participants perform in the event may then be defined by the channels of communication they use. Players use all three channels. Listeners use the intoned speech channel and sometimes the sung speech channel.

The nonlinguistic *instrumental channel* is the base and defining channel of communication and may occur without the other two. The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) attributes the *antara* or panpipes, called *zampoña* in Bolivia, to the Aymara-speaking Collaos, but archeological evidence (Kauffman Doig, 1972) shows the existence of the zampoña and *qena* or flute in amost all of the pre-Incan cultures of the general area. None of the historians mention the charango, a small guitar-like instrument, and the Inca Garcilaso says that the music of the Empire was purely melodic, unlike the modern huayñito in Peru and Bolivia. A typical modern Bolivian instrumentation for the huayñito is: one or more qenas, two or more zampoñas, charango, guitar, and bombo (cf. Appendix I for a description of the instruments). The accordion and drum is also a popular combination, particularly in Cochabamba.

Two communicative functions are performed in the instrumental channel. First, a solo instrument, later joined by the group, defines the song by setting the tempo, rhythm, musical key, and by running once through the melody. This communication is directed toward all participants and its function is identification of the event and particular message form. The second function is internal coordination among the players. The end of any phase of the event, such as the introduction, singing, soloing, and the end of the event itself, is signaled by a repetition of the final harmonic resolution followed by three accented quarter notes.

The *sung speech channel* is the focal point of the event. It is not obligatory in performance, like the instrumental channel is, but it is implied even in its absence. Sung speech differs from ordinary speech in a number of ways. Word stress and intonation are replaced by musical rhythm and melody. Example (1) shows the displacement of Quechua penultimate stress by musical rhythm.

(1) Káy cheqán calle-pí, chota-wan tinku-ni.
I met a chota (Indian woman in Indian dress) on the main
street (of town).

Sung speech does not have the same spontaneity which ordinary speech has. Words are fixed into lyrics within verses, although the verses may be performed in different orders in some huayñitos. While in ordinary speaking it would be considered a coincidence for two people to say the same thing at the same time, in sung speech, it is expected.

The sung speech channel is used for expressive functions and the language used is subject to considerable stylization. Phrases, sentences, and images are subject to repetition which is not found in ordinary speech. In example (2), the sensory image 'green' is repeated in three different contexts before it is finally tied to the memory of an amorous adventure. It is the repetition of the image and its juxtaposition with the memory which links them in the mind and not any explicit statement such as we might find in ordinary speech.

(2) Sujsa sujsa tuta-manta *verde-cito*
The early early morning (is) green.

Ay ... sauce-chu *verde*-chu kan?
Ah ... is the willow so green?

Q'omir pamp-ita-pi muna-Ø qo-wa-rqa-yki.
In the green fields you gave me your love.

Both Spanish and Quechua are used in this channel as we will discuss in greater detail.

The *intoned speech channel* is distinguished by its exaggerated intonation pattern. Unlike sung speech, intoned speech maintains natural word stress; however, unlike ordinary speech, the intonation pattern includes exaggeration of the high pitches on stressed syllables (accompanied by vowel lengthening) and a reduction of the differences in other pitch levels. The channel is used for a number of nonlinguistic and Spanish yells which accompany the music.

The speech acts performed in this channel are of two major types. There are obligatory yells and optional yells. The obligatory yells perform the communicative function of coordinating the performance of the players. They are only valid when performed by players during the event. Some examples are given in example (3).

(3) ¡Vamos con la primerita!	'Let's go with the first (song)!'
¡Adentro!	'Enter (the melody)!'
¡Cuatro!	'Four (voice harmony)!'

Optional yells perform both integrative and expressive functions. To the extent that listeners must demonstrate that they are participating, by using optional yells, they perform the socially integrative function of defining the listeners' role in the event. They are expressive in that they set a tone of gaiety for the entire event and usually consist of affective terms such as ¡*Alegría*! These yells are called *optional* because their distribution in the event varies according to the wishes of the listener and they may freely substitute for each other. This is obviously not the case with the obligatory yells.

Diagram (1) illustrates how these channels are used by participants in both roles to communicate among themselves. A dotted line indicates optional performance, to be distinguished from the option associated with optional yells.

Code Alternation

We are now in a position to see that channel is one determining factor in code selection and provides a basis for distinguishing three types of code alternation in the event. As a general rule, the sung speech channel is associated with Quechua and the intoned speech channel with Spanish. The fact that both channels may be used at the same time by different participants effects a simultaneous use of two codes in different channels. To this extent, the phenomenon is similar to what we find in subtitled movies or Ameslan interpreting. Unlike these

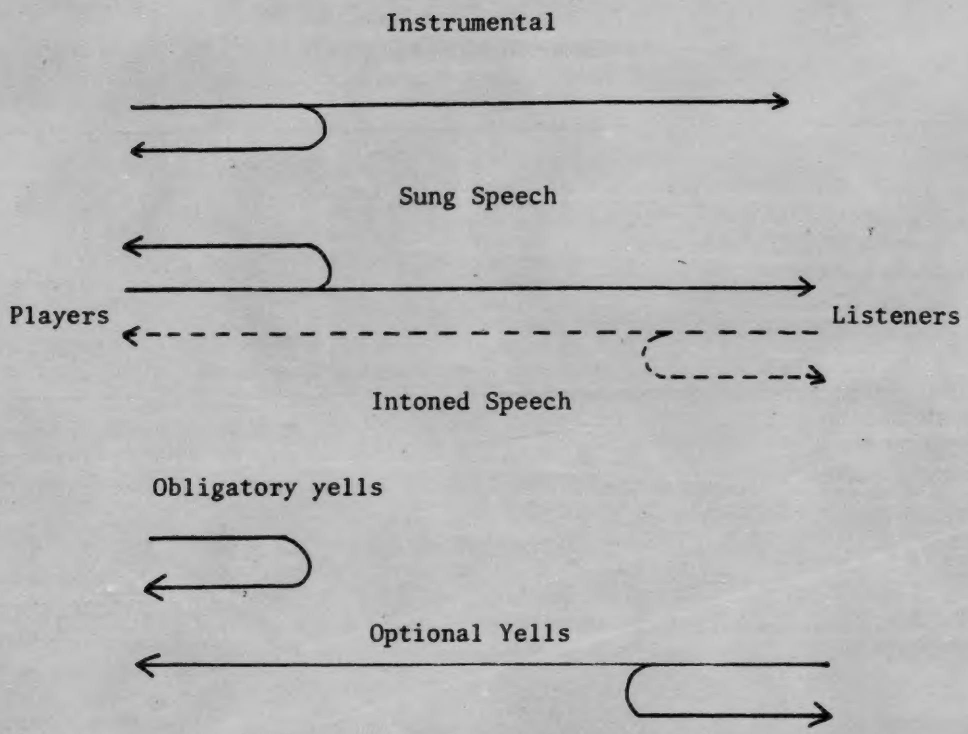


Diagram (1). Interaction Network

phenomena, however, the messages conveyed in the two channels are different and perform different functions.

On the other hand, a single participant may switch channels as when a player ceases singing and shouts out an obligatory yell or when a listener ceases performing optional yells of encouragement and takes up the melody along with the players. Code alternation of this type, which is effected by switching channels, will be called *cross-channel* code alternation.

We may also recognize two types of *in-channel* code alternation which perform communicative and expressive functions respectively. In the first type, codes may alternate within lines of the verse through the insertion of specific lexical items or phrases. In the course of extended and increasing contact between the two languages, certain Spanish lexical items have been relexified or translexified into Quechua (Muysken, forthcoming) or have acquired specialized meanings in Quechua which did not exist in either language formerly (Albó, 1970, 1974). In example (1), *calle* signifies a well-trafficked town street. The Quechua equivalent *ñam* or *yam* is now limited to anything from a dirt road to a path. In Spanish, the term *calle* would denote any kind of street or road, but not a path. This type of code alternation is in no way limited to the huayñito. Whether the use of such lexical terms is actually perceived as code alternation or whether the speakers in fact identify the items as part of Quechua is a question which requires further study. There is some evidence to suggest that the Spanish-dominant speaker would consider their use code alternation whereas the Quechua-dominant speaker would accept them, at least subconsciously, as part of Quechua (Hart-González, 1979).

In the second type of in-channel code alternation, the selection of a word, phrase, or longer segment from the other code seems to be a matter of stylistic choice. In example (4), a Quechua term of endearment from the affective domain substitutes for a perfectly viable and current Spanish word *corazón* 'heart.' Considerations of verse rhythm, rhyme, and emotional impact are probably factors which enter into this

(4) Si es la niña que está en mi *sonqo*.
If (she) is the girl who is in my heart.

kind of stylistic choice. Such stylistic choices obviously perform an expressive function as opposed to the purely communicative function of specialized meaning in the first type of in-channel code alternation. Codes may also alternate stylistically by line, as in example (5), or by

(5) Fuerza, ¿sí? Fuerza, ¿no? Force, yes? Force, no?
Kicha-ri-lla-wa-y vid-ita-y Please open (your heart) to me, my life! dear

verse (cf. Appendix II). In the Peruvian huaynos of Ayacucho, the final section of the song, called the *fuga*, is often in the language other than that of the verses. The fuga has no counterpart in the Bolivian huayñitos.

Both types of in-channel code alternation may involve the substitution of words or phrases from the other language. The types are distinguished by function and distribution, not by form. Roughly, words and phrases with no direct semantic counterpart are functionally communicative and can occur in almost any kind of speech event provided that both speaker and listener share the terms and their meanings. Stylistic code alternation occurs when words, phrases, lines, or entire verses in one language are substituted for perfectly viable and current alternatives in the other language. This type of code alternation is expressive in function and is most likely restricted to speech events which involve artistic expression, such as the huayñito. Such a statement, of course, requires a comparison of the huayñito with other types of speech events. In this case, I have compared the huayñito with taped informal conversation of bilinguals, a taped radio broadcast from Sucre, Bolivia, a recorded folktale, other songforms such as the *samacueca*, and a collection of Quechua verse taken mostly from song (Lara, 1958). While this is by no means a sufficient data base, there does seem to be an emergent pattern that stylistic alternation as we have discussed occurs primarily in the sung speech channel. If the pattern is borne out by further study, we may then conclude that channel is the event component which distinguishes the three types of code alternation. Cross-channel code alternation is plainly the product of switching channels. In-channel stylistic alternation is distinguished from the more pervasive communicative alternation by virtue of its expressive function within the sung speech channel with which it seems to be associated.

While we might expect to find some structural differences in the two types of in-channel code alternation, structure seems to be determined by the size of the substituted segment and not by the type of alternation. When single words are substituted, they take on the morphology of the surrounding language. Thus we have in example (1) *calle-pi* and not *en la calle*, whereas in example (4) we have *en mi sonqo* rather than *sonqo-y-pi*. At the phrase level, in example (2), the Spanish modifier *verde* follows the Spanish noun *sauce* as Spanish syntax requires. In the following line, the Quechua modifier *q'omir* precedes the Quechua noun *pampa* as required by Quechua syntax. The Spanish NP *sauce verde* has been substituted intact. The Quechua interrogative element *-chu* is not part of the NP. It is dominated by the S node of the structural description. In essence, the rule of code alternation seems to be that one node and all the elements dominated by that node must be substituted intact. The elements are then subject to all transformations which affect any higher node of the structure. It appears so far that the node may dominate anything from a single word to an entire sentence. This rule functions regardless of the type of code alternation.

Conclusion

In the process of describing a particular communicative event, the huayñito, I have tried to demonstrate two things:

1) A study of code alternation must include an analysis of distribution and communicative function as well as form. This is demonstrated by the fact that the two types of in-channel code alternation can be functionally, but not formally distinguished.

2) The analysis of function and distribution is most economical when set in the framework of ethnographic analysis of speech event comcomponents, such as those suggested by Hymes (1972, 1974). In this study, a close examination of one component, channel, enabled us to both define the roles of participants in the event and distinguish three types of code alternation.

This approach may require that the discussion of a single speech event be embedded in the study of a range of speech events. The need for a large data base is unfortunate from a practical point of view, but may prove essential to a fuller understanding of code alternation.

APPENDIX I

INSTRUMENTS USED IN PLAYING HUAYÑITOS

Bombo or *Bombito* - A large cylindrical drum which stands around 20" high and has a head somewhat more than a foot across. The sides are of a light-colored wood. The head is made of goatskin which has not been depilated. It hangs at about waist or hip height slanting off to one side by a shoulder strap. It is played with one or two sticks the stoutness of a finger. The playing ends of the sticks are bound in leather. The tone is very deep and of fairly short duration.

Charango or *Charanguito* - A small, fretted instrument measuring around 15-17" in total length. The head, neck, and the face of the soundbox are made of wood. The back of the soundbox is the shell of an armadillo whose head (complete with ears) rests against the base of the neck of the charango. The strings (usually violin strings) are in five sets of pairs. Although they may have different tunings, a common one is: G C E A E. The middle pair is tuned an octave apart; the rest are unisons. The charango is played with fingers or a pick and can be strummed much faster than the guitar. The mandolin, among Western instruments, best approximates the tone of the charango; however, the latter is less brilliant. The mandolin is often used instead of charango in huaynos from Ayacucho.

Guitar - The classical nylon-string variety is preferred.

Qena - A simple flute whose size determines its pitch range. It consists of a hollow cane with a drilled thumb hole and three to six finger holes. At the upper end a small irregular chip has been removed. Sound is produced by blowing somewhere between across and into the upper end. Its tone, which can be fairly shrill, has a windy quality.

Tarqa - A larger flute of carved wood with keys used more in the South of Bolivia than in the North. Its pitch tones rise and fall slightly with the amount of air blown through the column creating a slightly whining effect.

Zampoña or *Antara* - A panpipe of hollow canes of different lengths. Unlike the qena, it has no notches to aid in producing tone. Two sets of five to seven pipes each are normally held one in front of the other at slightly different heights to give each player a wider range of notes. Normally at least two play together on zampoñas of different pitches so that between them they complete the scale. The tone is windier than that of the qena.

APPENDIX II

A HUAYÑITO

A. *Kay cheqan callepi*

1. (Q) Kay cheqan calle-pi chota - wan tinku - Ø - ni.
This straight *Sp* street-in, on chota - with find - pres. -1st. sing.
I met a chota on the main street.

Uj - ta gestu - ri - Ø - ni.
One - acc. gesture - politeness - pres. - 1st sing.
I winked.

Qhallu - n - ta sik'i-
Tongue - 3rd. sing. poss. - acc. stick out
She stuck out her tongue at me.

wa- Ø -n. Susto - wan wañu- Ø - ni.
1st. obj.-pres.-3rd sing. Fright- with die -pres. -1st sing.
I died of fright.

2. (S) A - l cielo me llama-Ø- n.
To-the sky 1st sing. acc. call- pres.-3rd sing.
They're calling me to Heaven.

Yo no voy por nada.
I neg. I-go for nothing
I won't go for anything.

Allí está mi suegra :
There be-3rd sing. pres. my mother-in-law (Bis)
My mother-in-law is there (Bis)

Viej-a condena- d- a.
old-fem. condemn- past p- fem.
The old bag.

3. (Q) Oruro plaza- pi q'ala macha- ku- Ø- ni.
Oruro *Sp* plaza- in,on completely get drunk-refl-pres-1st sing.
I got completely drunk in the plaza of Oruro.

Uram-Ø- ni misk'a-Ø -ni taki- Ø - ni
Fall-pres-1st sing. slip-pres-1st sing. sing-pres- 1st sing.
I fell, I slipped, I sang,

tusu- Ø- ni kiki- m- pi puñu- Ø- ni.
dance-pres-1st sing. same-euph-in,on sleep-pres-1st sing.
I danced, I fell asleep there on the spot.

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and several unlabeled casette recordings from Tarija and Cochabamba, Bolivia, and from my generous informants, living in Virginia, who prefer to remain unnamed.

FOUR PAPAGO RATTLESNAKE SONGS

Donald M. Bahr
Arizona State University

This paper is the fourth in a continuing study of Piman (Pima-Papago) song sets.[1] It treats a four-song set for the cure of rattlesnake sickness. The songs, which were sung by Manuel Havier of Ak Chin village on the Papago reservation, are the following (transcriptions are in the Appendix):

Song 1.

Grey rattlesnake
Wash across zigzag goes.
Tree below rustles:
Sounds of crying.

Song 2.

Green rattlesnake
Road across zigzag goes.
Green grass enters:
Sounds of crying.

Song 3.

Little rattlesnake
Road in circularly sits:
Sounds of rattling.

Song 4.

Straight going rattlesnake
Straight going rattlesnake
From the side across goes:
Sounds of rattling.

This is not a long or particularly complex set. Roughly speaking, the complexity of a set depends on length and length depends on number of songs. Thus, an eight song set can hold more ideas than a set with four songs, a twelve song set can hold still more, etc. Piman sets often, but by no means always, come in multiples of four, sixteen songs being a long set. Thus, the maximal expressive power of Piman song is not at issue in this paper. Rather, we are concerned with minor differences in an almost minimal set. Our task can be briefly stated. It is to relate what songs say about snakes' *movements* to what they say about snakes' *sounds*. The latter statements, coming at the end of each song, are what we want to explain. The former, in the middle portion of each song, are where we will find the explanation.

Let us commence with what needs to be explained. 'Crying,' *ṣoak*, is for many Pimans the normal word for describing a rattlesnake's sound. Thus, one does not normally say in Piman 'The snake rattles,' but, 'The snake cries.' The implication is that rattling always means an unhappy snake. You never hear one, or one never 'sounds,' unless it is bothered. Let me add, it seems safe to assume that *ṣoak*, 'cry,' basically refers to the crying of humans. The word has been extended to cover the sound of a rattlesnake in anguish, even though this sound is made with the tail rather than the head and it is rattling rather than bawling.

Sijk, 'rattle,' describes the sound a snake makes when it 'cries.' The word for a rattler's rattler is *sijkuḍ*, 'rattling thing.' Here is how I interpret the occurence of 'rattle' in the last two songs: *Ṣoak* means 'to cry and rattle' or 'to cry by means of rattling' or 'to rattle in anguish.' If you want to describe rattling without the emotional connotation of crying, which in everyday speech you never would, you must say *sijk*. *Sijk* in reference to rattlesnakes is a peculiar case of linguistic marking. It is marked for the *absence* of the emotion of anguish.

We understand that the first two snakes were rattling in anguish, the second two were not, and we are now at the point of asking how the second two snakes reached their not-unhappy condition. A further preliminary is needed before we can put the question. I must explain that this particular form of song set, which I call a *song variation set*, is not designed to tell how each of its four snakes arrived at happy or unhappy frames of mind. The set presents its snakes in supershort scenes which, if set in motion, would take from a second to a few minutes' time. This is the span of narrative time covered in most Piman songs. There is something moving in a song even if it is only the buzzing of a tail as in Song 3. For this reason, songs are not still life compositions. They are narratives with motion, but supershort ones.

I have previously suggested that Pimans use two basic methods for combining songs into larger textual units (Bahr, Giff, and Havier, n.d.). One method was termed the *chaining* of songs; it presents a series of moments as parts of one unfolding story. Song sets using this method commonly follow one hero through a sequence of scenes. We can imagine our set's first character, Grey rattlesnake, in such a set where each song would tell us more about his or her life story. The set would elucidate the crying by laying in other moments, perhaps spread over days, of the snake's biography.

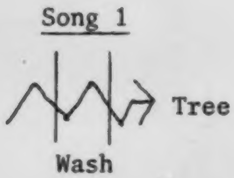
Obviously, this is not what we have. Our set represents the other way of combining songs, through variations on one basic story. The heroes are different individuals but they appear as chips off one block. The block in this case is "rattlesnake." The basic story is "rattlesnake going someplace." Let us work through the lines of the first song in sequence and see how they pose a problem on rattlesnake traveling. The first line says 'Grey rattlesnake' -- there is absolutely no problem with this line because many rattlesnakes look grey. The listener should think, "Fine, I got that one." The second line describes such a snake wriggling across a dry wash -- again no problem it is a scene that can be witnessed everyday except in winter, when the snakes are asleep. Line 3 should disturb the listener, in my opinion, because it leaves something out. 'Tree below rustles:' It is impossible to *see* this scene clearly. What is rustling, foliage or grass? What caused it, the snake or the wind?

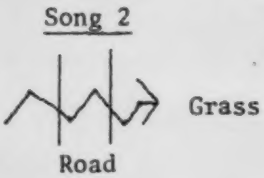
In studying song sets one should assume that every word choice makes a difference. We must, therefore, ask what difference it makes that Song 1 becomes ambiguous at this point. Is the ambiguity on purpose and, if so, what is the purpose? In the light of the other sets that have been studied, I believe that the ambiguity is on purpose. It is common for an opening song to say something to disturb or puzzle the listener. Besides, its overt content, the first song normally tells the listener in effect, "You had better pay attention, not everything in these songs is going to be easy."

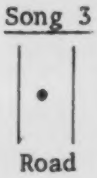
In the present case, it seems that the ambiguous third line's main function is to prepare for a still more puzzling final line, 'Sounds of crying.' Line 3 is ambiguous as to who does what to whom, but it is emotionally neutral. Piman ṣa:muñ simply means 'to rustle' and, if we cannot see the scene clearly, at least there are no emotions implied. Line 4, on the other hand, is clear enough in what it pictures -- one presumes that anguished sounds come from the snake -- but it is not a satisfactory end to the story. I hold that there is nothing either internal to the song or in a Piman's background knowledge on snakes that would explain why this snake cried.

It remains to be seen if the sequel longs lay to rest the problems of Song 1, lines 3 and 4. If they do, and we can see how, this will emerge as a good song set. If they do not, or we can not see, someone is at fault. Song 2's wording is quite parallel to Song 1. Green is another plausible shade for a rattlesnake, a road is another plausible thing for a snake to cross -- these are two "quiet" lines, in line with the first two, which merely lay in variations for future use. When we come to the locus of the first disturbance of Song 1, line 3, we find that the ambiguity of the original line has been replaced with a clear and, therefore, non-troubling sentence, 'Green grass enters.' This is an easy scene to see. It is a small clarification, however, because the last line is as it was, and we are no closer to knowing what made the snakes cry. It is just that now we have two of them.

In Song 3, a little rattlesnake, sitting coiled on a road, rattles without crying. The immediately evident change is from a moving to a stationary snake. The element 'road' carries over from the previous song, but as part of scene of stasis rather than of motion; and in the small world defined by this variation set, that shift must explain the change in the snake's mood. Let us summarize the development in chart form:







Except for the change from colors to size ('little') in naming the snakes, which we will take up later, the chart exhausts the first three songs. That it represents the heart of the matter of the snakes' change of mood is confirmed in Song 4. Here the theme of movement, which previously was contained in the songs' middle portions, has moved up to line 1. The *name* of this snake is 'Straight going,' a name that contrasts with the zigzag movements of the two crying snakes. This deepens our knowledge of the criers: Not only did they cross another entity's physical path (a wash for water, a road for beings that run[2]), but they slithered crookedly, poor things.

The final snake's movement is couched in a masterpiece of language that I translate as 'From the side across goes.' We will deal with the Piman directly, let us first consider the picture. What did the snake cross through? Literally and exactly, he crossed an observer's line of vision, not something physical such as a road or a water course. The picture is of you facing in a direction with a snake slithering across your field of vision, from the left corner of your eye to the right corner, for example. You would say, "There is a snake that knows where he's going."

The key word in the Papago expression is *gahi*, which in conjunction with *him*, 'to go,' produces meanings such as 'to cross; to pass through; to penetrate.' *Gahi*, alone, carries the force of 'something passing through something.' *Gahi him* is most commonly used as it is in Songs 1 and 2, in reference to crossing physical objects such as roads. In Song 4, the abstract locative *gn hu* 'from the side' or 'transverse to the observer's line of sight' has replaced the concrete nouns *aki*, 'wash' and *wo:g*, 'road.' It is fair to say that Song 4 is the one song that builds an outside observer into its spatial situation so that a snake, unimpeded and following its own lights, "crosses" mankind's vantage point.

It remains to comment on the color terms and other items of the songs' first lines: grey, green, small, and straight going. This sequence compares with a sequence built entirely of colors and discussed by Bahr and Haefer in reference to a set of Papago jimsonweed songs. Like the present set, the jimsonweed songs formed a tight group of variations. The jimsonweed songs introduced one color in each of five songs: grey, green, spotted, many-colored, and grey again. The sequence was analyzed as a case of "peaking" and the semantic principle behind the sequence was termed "chromatism of the entity." By peaking, we meant that the sequence started and stopped with the same value, grey, but built to a peak in the next to the last item, many-colored. The sequence is interesting because it does not pass through a series of single-colored objects, but peaks instead on the very idea of colorfulness, or chromatism.

The present sequence starts with the same colors, grey and green, but shifts to a size and then to a movement word in Songs 3 and 4. The use of color drops out in the next to the last song, on other words at the point of "peaking." Here the dropping out is part of a contraction of the song form from four lines to three. What actually contracted, was the so-called "middle portion" of the song: Where there had been a pair of lines telling what prompted moving snakes to cry, there is now just one line on a non-crying snake in stasis. I view this as the key issue in the set and the key act in "peaking."[3] The change from a color name to a "size name" is not important in itself. Its importance is in announcing to the listener that an answer is coming to the riddle of the snakes' moods.

To review, the answer comes in steps. The snake of Song 3 is in the coiled position from which snakes normally 'cry,' strike, and otherwise express dissatisfication with the world. To change the sound word from ṣoak to sijk at this point in the set implies a change of mood, but the coiled physical attitude belies it. It is the function of Song 4 to bring the information on physical attitude in line with the meaning of sijk. An uncoiled, traveling snake could not be angry and, in fact, one might almost translate the 'rattles' as 'jingles.'

Pimans hold that curing songs are meant to flatter or amuse the species that they are about. The species is also understood as the source of the songs. Rattlesnakes, not humans, are considered to be the true authors of rattlesnake songs, even though humans may learn the songs from each other as we are now doing. This set, then, must originally have come to someone in a dream encounter with a rattlesnake. It follows from the above, that humans can only speculate on what makes a song set appealing. Presumably, only the rattlesnake author would know for sure. My speculations have been given in the above analysis, that the songs recognize that not all rattles are cries, and that they allow that snakes sometimes have their own straight paths to follow.

We are on safer, but still speculative ground, in asking what makes the songs appeal to humans. Let me simply state an opinion. On the issue of crying, I propose that we, too, may wonder about the relation between inner emotional states and outer behavioral manifestations: When are the latter accurate indications of the former? Concerning the aspect of roads, I note that humans sometimes dream of trying to go somewhere on roads or trains that run "off the mark." We may call it the dream of distracted travel. For those afflicted by it, these songs from snakes indicate a happy ending.

I will now make some final comments on what these songs have added to what was known or though about Piman song. They are only the fifth set that has been closely analyzed, and they are tied for the shortest set so far. Their predecessors were sets of four and five jimsonweed songs, twelve cow songs and sixteen deer songs -- all for curing. They will be followed today by Giff's discussion of items from an entirely different kind of song -- swallow songs for dancing and as he puts it "for graditude" -- and by Haefer's discussion of another form of dancing song.

Of the sets previously studied, the closest formal relative of the rattlesnake songs was the set of five on jimsonweed whose color terms I have already mentioned. They were another song variation set and they represent one strain in Piman musical culture, the strain of creating intricate webs of meaning from deliberately limited materials. In terms of content, the nearest relative to the set we have just considered, would be the sixteen deer songs. Both sets are primarily interested in the subjectivity of the species that they are about -- both are pieces of psychological literature.

What seems remarkable to me about the rattlesnake songs is their achievement of psychological portraiture entirely through third person language. On first view, the songs are entirely behavioral, mere reports of snakes crawling somewhere . The key, of course, was the word 'cry' which, juxtaposed with 'rattle,' forces us to enter the semantics of feelings. Compared with the other sets that I have seen, that is the specialty of the rattlesnake songs.

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Song 1.

```
'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
ko    ko ma    ŋi ko       o  o  wi
s-komagi          ko'owi
GREY              RATTLESNAKE

'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
ya    ki ko    we ga       gai   si ju    ju la    no wi    hi    me
aki               gahi           si s-jujul          him
WASH              ACROSS            ZIGZAG            GOES

'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
yu       hu    si we    pe cu    si ṣa    mu    ñe
u:s               weco           si ṣa:muñ
TREE              BELOW             RUSTLE

'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
ṣo    ṣa kya   mo kai   da    ŋe
ṣoṣak          am kaidag
CRYING            SOUNDS
```

Song 2.

```
'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
ce       do    ni ko       o  o  wi
s-cehedagi        ko'owi
GREEN             RATTLESNAKE

'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
wo       wo    ge ga       gai   si ju    ju la    mo wi    hi    me
wo:g              gahi           si s-jujul          him
ROAD              ACROSS            ZIGZAG            GOES

'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
ṣa       ṣai   si ce       do    gi ke       da    bo wa    ki    me
ṣa'i           si s-cehedagi        eḍa               wa:k
GRASS             GREEN             INSIDE            ENTERS

'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
ṣo    ṣa kya   mo kai   da    ŋe
ṣoṣak          am kaidag
CRYING         SOUNDS
```

Song 3.

```
'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
ce       ma    li ko       o  o  wi
al cem            ko'owi
LITTLE            RATTLESNAKE

'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
wo       wo    ge ṣa    sa gi    te si    si ko    li dai   cu    ne
wo:g              ṣa:gid            sikol             daha
ROAD              WITHIN            CIRCULARLY        SITS

'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
si    si kya   mo kai   da    ŋe
sisijk         am kaidag
RATTLING          SOUNDS
```

Song 4.

```
'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
ṣe       ṣe    le hi    me da    me ko       o
ṣel               himdam            ko'owi
STRAIGHT          GOING             RATTLESNAKE

'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
ṣe       ṣe    le hi    me da    me ko       o
ṣel               himdam            ko'owi
STRAIGHT          GOING             RATTLESNAKE

'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
ga       nu    wi ga       gai   we hi    me ne
gn hu             gahi              him
FROM THE SIDE     ACROSS            GOES

'  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '  '
si    si kya   mo kai   da    ŋe
sisijk         am kaidag
RATTLING          SOUNDS
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NOTES:

1. The previous papers are by Bahr and Haefer (1978), by Bahr, Giff, and Havier (n.d.), and by Bahr (n.d.). The work was supported by the Arizona State University Faculty Grant in Aid program (1976-77) and the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society (1977-78).

2. I suggest that the word wo:g, 'road,' 'trail,' pertains to things that use 'running' (mel) as a primary form of locomotion. These include four and two-legged animals and vehicles with wheels. Water and wind are also said to run, but not on roads except by coincidence. Snakes and birds exemplify animate things which do not or cannot use running as a major form of locomotion and would therefore have little use for roads, either their own or somebody else's.

3. One reason for choosing this set for discussion was to give another example of the phenomenon I have termed "peaking." Putting the two described cases together and anticipating that more such will be found in the future, the following are my observations on peaking:

1. It occurs in the next-to-last song of short (three to five item) song sets.

2. It exaggerates something that shows in normal form in the first and last songs of the set. Thus, the color word 'many colored' exaggerates the concept of chromatism which is represented as 'grey' in the first and last songs; and the switch from a four to a three line format is an exaggeration of song form.

3. Being in the penultimate song, the "peak" whether formal or substantive cannot be the final resolution of whatever may be recognized as the set's key problem. That resolution will come in the last song, and it will have been called for in the first song. Hence, the minimal requirement for a song set with peaking is three songs: a fist song to raise the key problem, a peak song to exaggerate something, and a final song to resolve the key problem.

Seen in this light, "peaking" and "problem resolution" are distinct events in a song set.

PIMA BLUE SWALLOW SONGS OF GRATITUDE

Joseph Giff
St. John's Village

I:dam cu:dki ñeñ'ei	These stomping songs
mand am o ho-a:	which I will sing
mo wuḍ hegam mo wuḍ s-chedagi gidwal ñeñ'ei.	are blue swallow songs.
Mu'i wuḍ ñeñ'ei hegam	There are many of them
cem c abş hab-a mu'i pi ṣa'i e-cegitok pi hekid o ṣa'i upam i wuwha.	even so, many are forgotten and will never be back again.
Hegai o'odham	The man
matp hedai koş eḍ e-na:to i:dam ñeñ'ei	in whose sleep the songs were made
hab a masma pi ṣa'i e-cegito	likewise is forgotten
mas heḍai wuḍc has ce:gig.	who he was and what was his name.
Kt pi heḍai hab ṣa'i kaij	And nobody says
mas ab wuḍ amjeḍkam i:da o'odham	where this man was from
heg hekaj hab masma s-ma:c g o'odham, hegam t-wipikolbaḍ	because the people knew it that way, our late great grandparents
mas wuḍ Jeweḍ Ma:kai kc am na:to g jeweḍ	that it was Earth Medicine Man who made the earth
k ab amjeḍ ha-na:to g o'odham	then made people
k ab ha-ma: g ha'icu ma:cig	then gave them knowledge
matp hascu wuḍ o i s-ma:cimkad g o'odham	whatever people would have for knowledge
c g hekaj ab o a'i e-we:majkad am e-ki:dag eḍ	to help each other in life
c wo himcudad g e-ki:dag eḍ.	and make their life continue.
No pi wuḍ we:s hemiapkam ab Jeweḍ Ma:kai amjeḍ	Because everybody is one from Earth Medicine Man
heg hekaj pi heḍai am hu abṣ a'i e-ta:tam	therefore no one should have the feeling
mas am ge ha'icu hascu am s-ma:c	that what he knows is really something
hekid hab o o-ju: na mat g o'odham hascu wuḍ o ik c hekid o mu:	so when it happens that a person, whatever he is, dies
kut o o-hiaṣ we:nadk g ha'icu ma:cigaj	then what he knows is buried with him
cem hems g ce:gigaj we:nadk o o-hiaṣ.	even his name is buried with him.
K abş hab-a hegai ñeñ'ei am o wa himad	But the songs will continue
no pi ma ha'i ha-cu:cia mat o ho-mai	because he will appoint someone to learn them

k am o ha-a:g	he'll tell them
matp hekid hab o o-ju: na	that when he's gone
kutp hegam am o himc hegai	they are the ones to carry it on
heg hekaj am hab him i:da.	so it goes on.
No pi wuḍ a has elida	Because they are honored
heg hekaj mo om wuḍ a ha'icu	that's why these songs are
i:dam ñeñ'ei	important
c abṣ hab-a hegai o'odham pi	but the man won't be remembered
am hu wo ṣa'i e-cegito	or even his name because it
c hegai ce:gigaj nat pi	is buried with him.
wo we:nadk o hiaṣ.	
Mo hob masma ab ha-ma:kc g	This is how knowledge was
Jeweḍ Ma:kai g ha'icu	given by Earth Medicine Man
ma:cig	
mat i:dam mo ḍ ñe'edam	that there would be singers
mat ha'icukaj o ñe'ed	with something to sing about
mo mu'i wuḍ hegam	of which there are many things
mo ḍ hascu'i u'uhig ha-ñeñ'ei	for example whatever kinds of bird songs
kc hegam ha'icu duakam e:p	and animals as well
mo om oidc cu:dk	which (songs) are danced to
cuhug oidam c o ma:sic.	through darkness until dawn.
Ñe: kc hegam mo ha'i ab ha-	Look, it was given to others to be
ma:kc g ma:kaitalig	medicine men
mo s-ma:cid mat has masma o	and know how to cure the sick
duaj g mumkudam	
k ab ha-ma:kc g ñeñ'ei	and they were given songs
mo ḍ ga'agwul ha'icu g ñeñ'ei	which differ greatly from each other
pi so ṣa'i e-wepo kaidam ñeñ'ei	they don't all sound the same those
hegam ma:makai	medicine songs
am a s e-ma:c mo hascukaj ha-	yet it is known that they are something
duajid mat hema wo mumku.	to cure with when someone is sick.
C g ha'icu duakam mo ob ha-ma:kc	To the animals were given certain
hab masma mo ḍ ha-eñiga	rights
kc ha'icu mo d ha'icu ha-hugi	some would be food and would be killed
mat o muak o hu	and eaten
kc hegam mo hascu wuḍ i pi ha'icu	and some would not be food
hugi	
kc abṣ hab-a am wuḍ a has a:ga	but something was intended for
hegam	them
mo om a s-ta-ñeidama ma:s wuḍ	which is they are strictly for looking
ha'icu	at
ñe: hegai mas ha'icu wuḍ ciadag	look, there is the gila monster which
ge s-pi;ntok s-ke:g hab	is spotted and nice to see
ma:s	
mu'i ha'icu hab cu'ig na	many things are like that, look
mo om a ñe:ñeid c am s-ma:c mat	they are just to be seen and known as
g Jeweḍ Ma:kai hab juñ	Earth Medicine Man's products
c wuḍ ha-ma:kigdag g o'odham.	as gifts to people.

Hab wuḍ a:ga	It means
mat ab o has elidad g hemajkam	That people should respect them
c ab o ho'ige'idadc an o ñeidad	be kind and leave them alone
kutp hema wo pi ap'ekad ab wui	and should someone be improper to them
c o pi ho'ige'idad kc abṣ behegi o mua	be unkind or lightly kill them
k am a ha'i hiwa mat o ha-kei	of course some of them bite
kut am o wa mua mat hekid o kei	and may be killed if they do that
nat pi hebai ab o wa ha-mua	so sometimes they're killed
k abṣ hab-a hegai mat pi am has o ṣa'i e-ju:	but those that do nothing
t abṣ am o ñeidad	they just leave them alone
kutp abs hab-a ṣ behegi o mua	and if they are killed light heartedly
pegi, k o bei g e-mumkidag.	well, someone gets sick.

Kutp am hebai da:kad g o'odham	There will be someone someplace
mat g hekaj o ñe'ed hegai ha'icu duakam	who can sing about that kind of animal
c g hekaj o wuso hegai	and thereby cure it (sickness)
kut g am hu hab o i e-ju: hegai mumkidag	so the sickness will pass away
ñe: b o wuḍ a:ga i:da ñeñ'ei.	look, that is the purpose of such songs.

Ñe: kc ha'i wuḍ ep s-wo:po'idkam	Look, and others (people) are runners
mat heg ab ha-ma: g Jeweḍ Ma:kai	as was given to them by Earth Medicine Man
mat has masma hab o o-ju:k o s-wo:po'idagkad.	what they will do to become good runners.

Ñe: kc hegai ep wi:cuda	Look, another thing is causing to lope
mat hema wuḍ o s-wi:dagkam	if someone will be a loper
mat g ṣoñigwul wi:hidc ha-memelcud	if he will make the kickball lope and race
i:dam mo me:k wo:po c ab upam i wo'innog	those run far and spin around homewards
k hab masma ab e-cicwi g ka' akwultk ki:kam	and make the settlements play with each other
c hekaj am s-ñe:naṣañ.	and make them stay awake.

Ha'i e:p maṣ wuḍ s-cu-a'amcudam	Others are the wise
mo hob ha-a'aga ñe:ñokdam	who are called talkers
mo i:dam mat o daḍiwa wo ñe:ñokk o ap'ecud ha'icu	who sit and talk and set things right
matp hascu wo pi ha-ap'et hegam kawult ki:kam.	whatever is troubling the neighborhood.

Ñe: k i:da oidag cikpan ma:cig	Look, and knowledge of farmwork
wuḍ we:s ha-ma:kigdag	was given to all
mat ha'icu wo e:sk wo bahijidk hekaj o o-gegosidk	how to plant something, how it will ripen and be used for food
hegam e:p matp heḍai i tagio wo pi ap ha'icu hab o o-ju:	there are also those to whom something goes wrong
k wo pi ha-abam ha'icu	they have bad luck

kut o ta:t g bihugig	and feel hunger
kut eḍa an o tu'akjid g ha'icu e-bahijta	but something is put aside for that
ab o ha'icu ha-ma: kut g hekaj o o-gegos	to give to others so they can eat
ñe: i:da mo hab masma ab wuḍ ha-ma:kigdag	look, this was their gift
hab a:gc mat id hekaj ab o a'i e-we:majkad.	intended for use in helping each other.

Ñe: kc im i ha'ap	Look at it this way
mat g Jeweḍ Ma:kai ab ep ha-ma: g u:s ke:kam	that Earth Medicine Man also gave the trees
ga'agwul ma:scu'u	different kinds of them
mo ha'i ab vihogt	of which some make pods
kc wuḍ ha'icu ha-hugi g o'odham	and are food for people
c ep g ha'icu duakam.	as well as animals.

Ha'i e:p mo i:bad	Others make hearts (fruits or berries)
mo hegai ha-i:bdag mo ep ha'icu hugi	which hearts are also food
kc g na:nko ma:s i:wagi moḍ hemajkam ha-gegosig	and the many kinds of greens are also people's food
c hegam ha'icu duakam	and animals' (food)
c g u'uhig e:p mo hegam ha-kua g o'odham.	and birds', too, which people eat.

Hegai mañ am heki hu a:g g u:s ke:kam	That which I have already named, the tree
mo hab masma wuḍ ha-ap'edag	that it is for health
mo wuḍ hegai mo g hekaj ki:t	that it is for housing
ñe: mo g kui hab cu'ig	look, for the mesquite is that way
mo wuḍ ha-ki: kc wuḍ ep ha-gegosig.	that it is for housing as well as food.

Hegai ce'ul mo ab hab wud ep ha-ki:	The willow is also for housing
kc wuḍ e:p hegai mo ob wepenad g udwak c g ihug	and besides is put with cattails and devil's claw
c g hua na:to g amjeḍ	they make baskets from it
mo ḍ ep ha-cikpanakuḍ g u'uwi.	which are tools for women.

C hegai ṣu:dagi	And the water
mo ob jeweḍt amjeḍ da'iwañc im meḍ	that springs from the earth and runs
k g watopi am eḍa oimmeḍ	and the fish that travels inside it
kc wuḍ ha'icu ha-hugi g o'odham.	is food for people.

C g wamad hia pi ṣa'i e-kua	And the snake of course is not eaten
mo om ṣu:dagic eḍ oimmeḍ	although it travels in water
c abṣ hab-a am wuḍ a Jeweḍ Ma:kai na:toi	but it's a product of Earth Medicine Man

mo hob cu'ig	and is of the sort
mañ am heki hu a:gi	as I have already explained
mo mu'i ha'icu pi ṣa'i e-kua	that many things are not eaten
c i:da mo si s-e:stoim hab cu'ig	they have a hidden nature
mo g Jewed̥ Ma:kai ha'icu ma:cig	which is Earth Medicine Man's knowledge
si pi ma:sko ha'icu'ug	a mysterious something
matt a:cim hemajkam pi has masma wo ṣa'i ce:.	which we people will never find.
Ñe: hegai hanam c g haṣañ mo s-ho'idag	Look, the cholla and saguaro are thorny
c ed̥a wud̥ ha'icu hugi	yet they are something to eat
ñe: mo i:da hanam i am u'uc am cuama	look how the cholla is gathered and roasted
c am o gakjidk am o tu'akjid	then dried and stored
c am hihidod c am kua.	and boiled and eaten.
C hegai haṣañ	And the saguaro
mo hab a masma ep s-ho'idag	which is also thorny
k g i:bdag am u'u	and its hearts are gathered
mo d̥ wecij bahidaj	as fresh fruit
mat am o e'elpigk e'ed̥aj am o ia	they peel it and drink the insides
kut hegai i:bdag mat ab o ab bai	and if the heart is fully ripe
wo gakṣ wo i:g am weco	it dries and falls down
kut am o ce'u hegai	then they pick it up
mo hab a'aga juñ	which is called "dried fruit"
gd̥ hu ab o tu'akjidk c o kua'ad.	they store it away for future eating.
C hab ep e-wua e:p	And also do this
mat o mu'i ui hegai juñ	if they get a lot of dried fruit
k am o hido ṣu:dagi we:nadk	they boil it with water
kut am o i totp	it will foam
kut am o wu:ṣad	they will remove it
k am o o'osidk am o ui g kaij	and strain it to get out the seeds
gd̥ hu up wo tu'akjid	these they store away
am ep has wuac kua.	eventually they eat them.
C hegai wadgaj	And the liquid
mo d̥ sitolc s-i'owi	which is syrup and sweet
gd hu ep wo tua	it is also put away
kut ge'e wo i wu:ṣ i:da sitol	they get a lot of syrup
kut heg am o ep nawai	they make wine with it
kut hekid o o-ai	and when it is ready
kut an o e-a:g g hemajkam	they tell the people
k am o dad̥iwa	and sit down
kut am hema wo amo ab amjed̥ g Jewed̥ Ma:kait amjed̥ ha'icu e-ma:kigdag	then someone makes a speech about Earth Medicine Man's gift
k an o o-wassibidk am o i: e-we:m	and they serve wine to each other

ab o i si has el g Jeweḍ Ma:kai e-i:bdag amjeḍ	they praise Earth Medicine Man from their hearts
s-ap elida ab o ma: g Jeweḍ Ma:kai	good wishes they give to Earth Medicine Man
k g ab wecij ahidag ab o i hi:	and for the new year (about to) begin
k ab ep tañ g ap'ecudadag g Jeweḍ Ma:kai am oidam i:da ahidag mat am ep i hi:.	they ask blessing from Earth Medicine Man through the coming year.
Hegai ñeñ'ei mañ am heki hu hab a:g	Songs as I have already said
mo ga'agwul ha'icu wuḍ wuikam	are for different things
hegam ñu:wi ñeñ'ei mo wuḍ uagda wuikam	there are buzzard songs for the girl's coming out ceremony
mat hekid g cehia ab o i ge'eda	when a girl grows up
mo hab a'aga mat o cu:wa'am	which they say that they 'roast' her
he'ekia hab o i e-ju: g ahidag	when so-many years have passed
kut am o ho-hemapa	then they gather
k wuḍ ma:kai i:da mat am o ha-ñe'ic cuhug oidam	and it is a medicine man who sings for them through the night
kut g hemajkam am o cu:d	and the people dance
e-wui wo:po k o cu:d am ha-we:hejeḍ hegam cecia.	to and fro facing each other they dance for the sake of those girls.
I:dam ñeñ'ei mo hekaj ha-wusot hegai ma:kai hegam cecia	These songs with which the medicine man cures the girls
hab wuḍ a:ga mo ha-kegculid	it is said that he cleans them
hekid mat o ku:gt i:da ñe'i	when the songs are ended
k amai mo hob a'aga mat e-na:to hegam	and then it is said that they are finished
k wuḍ u'uwi	and are women
c am amjeḍ s-a'pe	from then it is proper
mat o eḍagi g we:mjim c g ki:dag	for them to have a husband and homelife
k ab amjeḍ mat o eḍagi g a'al.	and then they will have children.
Mo hab wuḍ a:ga g ki:dag	As it's said about the homelife
mat g a'al g eḍa am o s-ap e-ge'egel	that children should be raised well
ab o ha'icu a:gi ab amjeḍ g Jeweḍ Ma:kai	something is taught about it by Earth Medicine Man
mo we:s hemajkam c we:s ha'icu	that all people and all things
mo hascu ab i jeweḍt ab	whatever is on the earth
hascu am i jeweḍ da:m	whatever is above the earth
ab wuḍ Jeweḍ Ma:kai amjedkam	is from Earth Medicine Man
i:da ha'icu a:ga	this teaching
mo hob wuḍ a:ga	which is told
mat o himad gam hu hugkam	will go the end
matp hebai hugkam g hemjkam in o ha'icugkad	for as long as there are people here
ñe: b o cu'ig.	Look, that's how it is.

I:dam gigidwal ñeñ'ei
mo we:s a:g
mat hascu am na:to g Jeweḍ Ma:kai
am t-we:hejeḍ a:cim o'odham
mo heg wuḍ t-duakag c wuḍ t-ki:dag
we:s ha'icu am ha'icu we:hejeḍ
na:to.

These swallow songs
tell everything
whatever was made by Earth Medicine
Man on behalf of us people
which is our life and our living
everything he made for a purpose.

Du'ag man ke:k
c ab ab hodaik mo bekc g o'odham
c ab amjeḍ maccud
mo heg ab ab cu'a hegai mo hascu
e-cu'ac e-kua.

A mountain stands
and has rocks which people get
to make grindstones
on which to grind whatever they will
grind and eat.

Has i ma:s u:s ke:kam mo ab cu:c
mu'i hegam mo ḍ ha'icu hugi
kc ha'i mo ḍ kulañ
mo g ab behe g o'odham
c hekaj e-kulañmad.

Any kind of upright trees that stand
many of them are food
and some are medicine
which people get
to medicate themselves.

Ha'icu s-cehedagi wu:ṣdag
mo om jeweḍo hab cu'ig
c hegam mo ḍ ep ha'icu ha-hugi

Something green, that sprouts out
that is on the earth
these are also food for people.

Ha'icu hiosig mo s-ap masma e-ñeid
na:nko ma:s u'uhig mo heg a:gc
ñe'e g gidwal
c hegam mo hascu'i si al ha'as
wuḍ ha'icu
hab masma mo g cukumug
c g mu:ki jiviadam
c g ku:g bibiagam
mo i:dam we:s am ha-a:ga g gidwal

Some flower that is nice to see
different kinds of birds that the swallow
tells about and sings
and those teeniest of things

such as the gnat
the corpse arriver (insect)
the end circler (insect)
all these are described by the swallow.

Ṣu:dagi matp hebai ka:c
o hebai i meḍ
c g ka:ck ṣu:dagi.

Water as it lies somewhere
or somewhere runs
or the very spreading water (ocean).

Taṣ himdam
maṣad himdam
huhu'u hihimdam
cewagi ka:cim
kiohod ab eḍa ke:k
mo id we:s a:g g gidwal am e-ñe'i
eḍ.

Sun traveler
moon traveler
stars travelers
cloud lyer
rainbow standing in it
all this the swallow describes in its
song.

Kut hekid o i dahiwa g ñe'edam
k wo ṣoṣonc g e-ñeñ'ei
huḍuñ ka:cim ñeñ'ei mat g am o
ho-ṣoṣonc
huḍuñig s-ap ma:s
mo g am ñeid g o'odham

So when the singer sits down
and starts his songs
west lying songs are the ones he will
start with
the sunset looks nice
as the people see it

ha-i:bdag s-ap ta:had	it feels good in their hearts
mo g hekaj am cu:dk am ñe'i oidc	therefore they dance through the songs
am i we:s wo ho-a: i:dam huduñig ñeñ'ei.	there he will sing all of the sunset songs.
K amjeḍ am o ia ha-a:gahi hegam ñeñ'ei	Then he will be singing those songs
mo we:s a:g hegai mañ hascu heki hu hab kaij	which describe everything as I have already said
k g oidc am keihin g o'odham	and through that the people dance
k eḍa mat ab o i s-cuhu	by then it will be dark
kut ab o i wuwha g huhu'u	the stars will come out
k in o hihimad	they will be traveling
im hu hebai wo i ju:	they pass to the west
mat eḍa wo o-ai mat o i ma:sihi	by then it is near dawn
kut o ho-a: g huhu'u ñeñ'ei.	and he sings star songs.
K am amjeḍ mat am o i ha-a:gahi hegam mo si'al wui ñeñ'ei	Next he sings the eastward songs
si'alig ab o i wegiomi	the east is getting red
kut eḍa wo ñe:na g ha'icu duakam	by then the animals are waking
c g na:nko ma:s u'uhig	and the many kinds of birds
mo heg am a:gahim g gidwal	which the swallow tells about
mo has e-wua i:dam am o i ñenaka'i.	how they act when they wake up.
Kut ab o i uanto	Then it whitens
kut g hemajkam ab o i ñe:naṣat	the people will be wide awake
ha-i'ibdag wo hehekigad	their hearts are joyful
kut s-hehekigam wo keihinad	and joyfully they dance
mat i ep hema ha-ma: g Jeweḍ Ma:kai g taṣ	for Earth Medicine Man gave them another day
kut s-ap ta:hadam i ep ku:gi g has elida am wui g Jeweḍ Ma:kai	and with pleasure they end their praise to Earth Medicine Man
am s-ma:c mat g s-he:kig ab ep i i-bei g Jeweḍ Ma:kai ab e-hemajta amjeḍ	knowing Earth Medicine Man got some joy from his people
k ab ba'ic ep i wo i ha-ma: g ha'icu ha-hugi c g jeweḍ ke:galig ab ju:kit amjeḍ	and will give them more food and an earth beautiful from rain
mo heg wuḍ ha-duakag g hemajkam.	which is life to the people.
Kut e-ai idañ	It's time now
mand am o ho-a: hegam ñeñ'ei	for me to sing the songs
wepeg ke:kam mo om a:g hegai hiwkuḍ	the first of which concerns a scraper
mo hab wua g o'odham	which people (singers) use
mat o bei g u:s	they get a stick
mat o s-kawkad	which must be hard
k i hiu hebai i hugkam o hikc	and cut it a certain length
k an o hikkipi	then notch along it
k am hema ep wo bei mat seliñc	then get another which is straightened
ep wo ṣa ajijkad	also narrowed

k g hua am o kupal ce:	then turn a basket upside down
k am da:m wo gewṣ hegai hiwkuḍ	then hold the scraper onto it
an ab o hihimmic hegai mo seliñ	along it move the straight one
k g an hab o hiwac am keliuk	scrape and it rasps
am s-betñim s-kaidag hegai hua.	rumbling sounds from the basket.

K hab kaij i:da	This (song) says
"Oig o ñ-ma:k g ñ-hiwkuḍ	"Then give me my scraper
oig o ñ-ma:k g ñ-hiwkuḍ	give me my scraper
i:ya al komadk du'ag ai	here at Broad (Estrella) Mountain (I) arrive
baṣo ñ-nagiak g	in front hang and
ñ-a'an hiw."	scrape my feather."

Ñe: hab masma hab cu'ig i:da	Look, that's how this one is
kunt am o a:	which I will sing

yoi goñema ke ne hi ivi ku ne
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

yoi goñema ke ne hi ivi ku ne
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

ya haliko me na keheno no owa ŋohoya i him
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

ba ṣoñena ni ya
' ' ' ' ' '

ya a nehi hi wa
' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

I:da mo om wuḍ oidc ke:kam	This (song) which stands next
am a:g	tells
matp am bei hegai e-hiwkud	that he got his scraper
k am ahawa hiwk ñe'i	then scraped and sang
kc hab kaij	and it says
"Hua da:m añ hu hihiwk ha-ñei	"Basket on I scrape and sing
hua da:m añ hu hihiwk ha-ñei	basket on I scrape and sing
huḍuñig am eḍa betoñ	twilight in rumbles
kuñ g am kaicug	and I listen
i:dam ñ-a'an	these my feathers
ha-ku:g an	on their tips
cewagi ṣa'icug."	clouds attach."

Ñe: b o kaidag e:p i:da	Look, it sounds like this

hua da manohi ihi hiwakeñe ehe ene
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

hua da manohi ihi hiwakeñe ehe ene
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

hu udu ñiŋeme eta aa mobe eto oni
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

ku ñe kamokai cu ne
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

i da moñeya ha ne
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

ku ka n
' ' ' ' '

ce wa gineṣai cu ne
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

Ñe: b o ep cu'ig i:da.	Look, that's how this one is.

I:da mo om ha-oidc ke:k	This one which stands after them
heg hab a:g	tells
mo om hua da:m hiwac ñe'e	that on the basket he scraped and sang
k g huḍuñig am e-eḍa betoñ	and in the west it rumbled
k g s-ho:ho'ic kaicug	he liked it and listened
kc i wahawa mat i si wa:m e-ju:	then acted extraordinarily
mat kupal wo'iwa am e-hua da:m	face down he lay on his basket
mac hab a'aga a:cim o'odham	which we people say
mat hema ha'icu wo si s-gewkam o i oidk	that someone may follow something very strongly
abṣ am o i pi e-eḍak	he'll just forget himself
mat hab o o-ju: g o'odham	which happens to people
k hab a'aga mat abṣ am o i kupal wo'iwa am da:m hegai	and they say "he lies face down on top" of
matp hascu am o i has wua.	whatever he might be doing.

Ñe: mo i:da am ñe'e	Look, this one sings
c g eḍa abṣ am i pi e-eḍak	and forgets himself in it
k abṣ am i kupal i e-ul am e-hua da:mk hab kaij	he holds himself face down over his basket and says
"Hua da:m ant a kupal am wo'iwak am ñe'e	"Basket-on face down I lie and sing
hua da:m ant a kupal am wo'iwak am ñe'e	basket-on face down I lie and sing
gidwal we:m a'i hongew	swallow-with shifting hips
i:da ñ-cu:kug hiosim."	this, my body, flowers."

hua da meneku upa alamewoi wa akamoñe ehe ene
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

hua da meneku upa alamewoi wa akamoñe ehe ene
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

gi ito waliwe ewe eme
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

ya ahai we yhonege we
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

i da ñi icu ku ne yo si
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

I:ya mo hab kaij "ñ-cu:kug hiosim"	Here where it says "my body flowers"
mo hab wuḍ a:ga	what it means is
mat hekid am i si e-i:bdagkaj ñei	when one really sings with his heart
kut g cu:kugaj ab i si s-keg i e-ju: hab masma mat we:sko hio	then his body becomes beautiful similar to flowering all over
mat ha'icu si s-ap ma:s	if something looks very nice
mo s-ta-taccuim ma:skad	if it looks very desirable

mac heg hab a'aga	we say
mo s-hiosig.	it flowers.

Ñe: i o hug i:dam waikk	Look, that ends these three
mat i'iya pi e-eḍak g o'odham am e-ñe'i eḍ	since now the man has forgotten himself in singing
k amjeḍ wuḍ o ne'ekam.	from now one he's a singer.

Ñe: kc i:da	Look, and this
mand im ep wo a: idañ	which I will sing now
mo hab a:g ha'icu ab amjeḍ g Jeweḍ Ma:kai	is something about Earth Medicine Man
mo hob cu'ig	which is
"Jeweḍ Ma:kai	"Earth Medicine Man
Jeweḍ Ma:kai	Earth Medicine Man
jeweḍ na:to	earth made
cewagi na:to	cloud made
k oidam g kikihoḍ am ha-cu:cwa."	continuing he stood up rainbows."

je wenehema akai
' ' ' ' ' ' '

je wenehema akai
' ' ' ' ' ' '

je wenehena ato
' ' ' ' ' '

ce weheŋihina ato
' ' ' ' ' '

koi nekamehaki ki
' ' ' '

yo hotamehacu cwa
' ' ' ' ' ' '

Ñe: b at ha'icu ju: g Jewed Ma:kai.	Look, that's what Earth Medicine Man did.

Hegai mañ am heki hu a:g	That which I have already discussed
mo wuḍ si'al wui cu:cim ñeñ'ei	which are the eastward standing songs
mo g eḍa am a:g	in which is told
mo has masma hab e-wua g ha'icu duakam c g u:'uhig	what the animals do, and the birds
mat ab o i e-ce:gi g wecij taṣ	when the new day's sun shows
kut ha-ñe:na	of course they wake up
k ab o i hehekhigad	and get happy
ñe: kc hab kaidag i:da ñe'i	look, and this song says
"Toha hohokimal	"White butterfly
toha hohokimal	white butterfly
da:m ka:cim wui cem al hi:	sky towards tries to go
sisik u'uhig	sparrow hawk
hewel ku:g ab hahiwa e-nagia	wind's end-on hangs
wakwañ u'uhig	heron bird
si'al ke:kkhim	east standing (dawn)
k eḍa am hihinnag."	just then honking."

to wai we eyo ki mali
' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

to wai we eyo ki mali
' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

da amai we eka ci me wui cu me himeda m
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

si si ke eyu hi iŋe
' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

he we li ku ka be ya ahai we naŋeyai m
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

wa kwa yameyu hi iŋe
' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

si iya li ke ki me
' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

ke eda mo lineki n
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

Ñe: b o e-wua g ha'icu da'adam duakam.	Look, that's what the flying animals do.
Ñe: i:da mo d ha-ku:g am ke:kam	Look, this one stands at their end
mat o a:	which is sung
mat eḍa s-ap o ma:si	when it is fully daylight
mat o kuguwic hegai ñe'i	when they will close the sing
wo u:pam hihi mo om a:g	they'll go home when they sing
"Gidwal u'uhig	"Swallow bird
gidwal u'uhig	swallow bird
e-ñe'ikaj cu:dkhim	dances to his song
hejel e-ñe'ikaj i an hu cu:dkhim	to his own song dances
k am hu wo a'ai upam hihi."	and in different directions they go home."

gi to waliyu hi iŋe
' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

gi to waliyu hi ge
' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

ñei ka ñi cuneki m
' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

he je le ñei ka ji
' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

yaanho wa cuneki m
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

ga mhu we ya ahai we
' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

yu pa me himeda
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

Ñe: b o cu'ig i:da	Look, that's how this is
mañ a:g g gidwal ñe'i.	which I call swallow songs.

POSTSCRIPT

The alphabet used here for writing Pima is basically the same as that used by Alvarez for writing Papago (1969). The main difference in the present case is that the letter "v" is sometimes used where Alvarez, in writing Papago, uses "w." This is due to a difference in pronunciation between Pima and Papago.

The reader should pronounce Pima vowels as in Spanish, except for the vowel written as "e" which is pronounced as in English "cool" only with the lips spread rather than rounded. This vowel is very important in Pima and Papago, but it has no exact mate in English or Spanish. A colon after a vowel (":") indicates that it is a long sound, that is, held onto longer than a vowel without a colon. Every Pima vowel has both long and short forms.

There are a few other unusual letters in the alphabet. The letter "ṣ" is pronounced "sh" and the letter "ḍ" is pronounced as "d" in English only with the tongue folded somewhat farther back against the roof of the mouth. "Ñ" is pronounced as in Spanish. Apostrophes ("'") indicate a glottal catch such as between the "o" sounds in English "oh-oh."

The writing in this paper was done by Donald Bahr. The paper was first delivered in English at the Swallow Conference, then taped in Pima on two different occasions at Giff's house. The present written version is based on the second taping. From the first spoken English version to the final written product, Giff followed the same order of topics and ideas, but he made many changes in word choice and phrasing. He needed a secretary through this process because he is blind.

The English translation was made by Bahr in consultation with Giff. It was made after the written Pima version was arrived at, and it aspires for line for line, rather than word for word, accuracy. In general the translation tries to be as concise as possible; it was noted that Giff's revisions of his Pima, from one version to the next, were also in the direction of increasing conciseness.

This is the first piece of Pima prose to be published--prose as distinct from songs and ritual speeches. Thus, nothing about it should be viewed as final, neither the alphabet, the spelling of words, the line-and-sentence format, the translations, nor even the ideas about the songs. All those topics came together in the present piece and it is hoped that each will be developed farther by others in the future.

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SONGS OF A PAPAGO CELKONA CYCLE

J. Richard Haefer
Arizona State University

BACKGROUND

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Few studies to date have been concerned with the relationship of Piman language texts to the elements of the music which accompanies the production of those texts. Dr. Ruth Underhill, in her pioneering work with Papago song texts, based most of her publications on English translations of the original. Frank Russell published many Piman language texts but without their accompanying melodies. Although each of these works is valuable in its own right, there is little comparative material available which readily provides both musical and textual elements for analysis. I do not wish to sound pessimistic as there is a great deal of field data, both tape recordings and written notes dating from early in this century, just waiting for future researchers to utilize.

Two recent studies have provided more detailed materials for music-textual analysis. The first, by Bahr and Haefer (*Ethnomusicology*, Jan., 1978), examines a short set of Piman curing songs with special attention to cyclic text development, text meaning, rhythm and meter of both text and music, and the relationship of melodic and formal structure to the text. As a first study, this article sets a precedent for the concept of studying Piman song sets while defining the limitations of such studies. The second study, by Misters Bahr, Giff, and Manol (*Ethnomusicology*, forthcoming), considers three song sets, examining their literary style, with only little concern for the rhythmic and formal aspects of the texts. The main development of these two studies, as I perceive it, is the emphasis on the traditional Piman language texts of the songs. With this background, we can continue with the present study, which will emphasize the music-text relations more than the literary aspects.

The two studies just cited dealt with songs from Piman curing rituals. Due to the nature of Piman cures, certain musico-textual features might be anticipated to be found in these songs, most notably the subject of the song cycle--for example, deer songs for curing deer sickness--or the resolution of a disturbance presented in the first song of the cycle. The songs of the *celkona*, however, would not necessarily be expected to have similar features to those of a curing cycle.

THE CELKONA

Perhaps we should digress for a moment at this point to describe the Papago *celkona*. The term may be considered to have at least two levels of meaning. The broadest and most inclusive use of the word implies a large-scale series of events known in the English literature as "intervillage games." These events include a ritualized system of greeting, a tributary dance, the exchange of gifts, and various races and games of chance. The celkona, as thus described, has not been practiced by the Papago for many years.

The second conceptual level for the term celkona is that of the dance proper associated with the intervillage festivities. Here the term refers to a type of dance which uses a skipping step called celko. This type of movement must be present in every dance called a celkona. The traditional purpose of the dance is one of social interaction and the development of intervillage camaraderie. Today, the dance is often performed at rodeos and powwows as a means of tribal identity.

The music of the celkona consists of a group or set of songs. The set is normally associated with one singer who is said to have dreamed words, music, and dance movements and who acts as song leader. All of the three supposedly complete cycles recorded to date include eight songs. Abbreviated versions of two of the sets have been witnessed, but they were intentionally shortened by the singers and were not considered complete.

The texts of the cycles are narrative and do not utilize other techniques of set relations such as text variation. The topics, however, vary widely depending upon the dreams of the composers. Topics frequently center around birds, animals, or other natural phenomena such as eagles, sea gulls, swallows, saguaros, or the wind, or Piman mythology. Mythological characters such as I'itoi, Morningstar Woman, and the children of the flood story have all appeared in celkona texts.

Although each cycle has a unique topic, a basic pattern underlies the narration sequence. One or more directional songs begin the cycle. These songs help to orient the listener to the topic of the cycle by presenting the major character of the song set and establishing his or her presence in the Papago land base. For example, song 1 of one cycle reads:

Green I'itoi came from the East.
Little Green I'itoi came from the East.

The opening song of another cycle begins:

From the West they run
To sing for us.

The latter example is somewhat more obscure as to the definition of the major characters of the song, but the directional nature is clear.

The songs in the middle of the cycle present in narrative form the movement of the subject(s) through the established land base. This includes the naming of various geographical locations such as mountains or villages and often the traveling of the characters to the ocean--that is, the Gulf of California--where natural elements relating to rain, such as clouds, wind, and sea birds, are encountered.

The final song or songs of the cycle bring about a resolution of the narrative sequence. The events or movements depicted in the earlier songs are completed and the major character of the songs either "arrives home" or returns from whence he came. By "arriving home," reference is normally made to the location of the listeners of this performance. Thus, the "good effects" brought about by the singing and dancing are said to remain in the village of the listeners. Additionally, the last song may refer to the conclusion of the event such as in this example: "Over Aji fields the songs end."

The major elements of the cycle, therefore, include a major character, the beginning and ending of the songs, directional orientation and movement, the experience of certain events which are said to take place, and a final reference to the benefits brought about by singing and dancing the celkona.

Although I have stated that these cycles develop a narrative sequence, often each individual song provides only isolated images and subtle allusions rather than a direct statement of events. This is, however, consistent with the Piman aesthetic where only the outline of a subject needbe given so that the listener may participate by filling in the details. Let us consider again the first song text of one Papago celkona cycle:

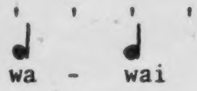
Green I'itoi came from the East.
Little Green I'itoi came from the East.
And there he stood up and saw it.
Therefore the spreading land got green.

The listener immediately identifies I'itoi as a cultural hero of the Papago. His arrival from the East is consistent with the belief that he resides somewhere on Baboquivari Peak in the mountains to the East of the Papago land base. Somewhat more illusive are the final references. The "it" which I'itoi saw is the vital, life-sustaining rain. The symbolic meaning of the phrase "the spreading land got green" is the coming of the summer rain after which the many wild grasses grow, coloring the desert floor green.

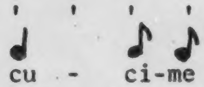
MUSICO-TEXT RELATIONS

Having mentioned these general characteristics of celkona song texts, we now turn our attention to some specific music-text relations of one specific cycle. Given above was the English translation of song 1 which has four lines which we may call AA'BC. Let's first outline several features of this text which are consistent with Papago norms of song composition. The basic song text syllable consists of a consonant vowel (CV) cluster. CV groups are combined into words or "word groups" which receive from four to twelve beats. A dominant beat pattern is established for any given song (six in this case), and this text beat pattern becomes the dominant measure of metric organization for the music. We are concerned here with either duple or triple grouping in either simple or compound internal relations. This beat pattern is normally dominant throughout an entire Papago song cycle, although other secondary patterns (normally of a contrasting organization) may occur at specific points in the cycle. In the present song, the words are grouped into patterns of six beats: 1 2 3 4 5 6, with the main accent on one and the secondary accent on four. (Therefore, we have a compound triple meter with the first CV syllable of a word group occuring on beat one.) This pattern remains unbroken except at the ends of lines A' and C, where the final word is lengthened to twelve beats, not a serious alteration. Somewhat more serious is the overlapping of the first half of the first word group of line B with line A' in actual performance practice. This will be discussed further in a moment.

It is not practical here to examine all of the characteristics of the CV cluster, but I would like to mention a few more. In spoken Piman there are two vowel lengths--long and short. In sung Piman, however, the duration of the vowel length will vary according to the metrical organization of the word group and the number of CV clusters within that group. For example, in a four-beat word group, you normally have two possible vowel lengths, long and short:

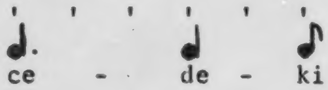


(rock) [long, long]



(standing) [long, short, short]

Note that in spoken Piman "wa" has a short vowel and "cu" has a long vowel, but in the sung version, they each receive two beats. Therefore, one cannot say that a definite relation exists between the length of a spoken vowel and the length of a sung vowel. This is perhaps one reason why many people have difficulty in understanding Piman song texts. In the more common six-beat word groups there are three possible sung vowel lengths: short and long (in a 1:2 ratio) and a longer value having a 1:3 ratio relation to the short:



(green) [longer, long, short]

In word groups of larger beat patterns (7, 8, 9, 10, etc.), there appear to be only the three vowel lengths outlined above which are combined in various additive patterns such as 2 + 3 + 3 or 3 + 2 + 1 + 2 for 8-beat words. Only for CV clusters at the final line of the text, or occaionally at the end of an internal line, do you find a longer vowel length and then normally for six or nine beats, a doubling or proportionate lengthening of our longest value.

There does not appear to be a set functional relationship between spoken vowel length and sung vowel length. For example, the word kekiwua (stood up) is spoken with all short vowels and sung in CV groups of two, one and two beats respectively. Other similar examples could be cited. Additional aspects of the function of CV clusters in song texts include the fact that the consonant may be changed from the sung to the spoken versions of the texts, final vowels may be added to the ends of word groups, and a textually meaningless CV cluster may be added at the beginning or end of a line or occasionally even within words. Comparative research needed to explain these correspondences between spoken and sung languages has just begun.

In the space remaining, I would like to examine some of the patterns relating to phrase structure, rhythmic, and formal characteristics developed from the text of this eight-song celkona cycle. As mentioned earlier, the text form for song 1 is AA'BC. This line structure is also found in song 7. Songs 2, 3, and 4 have the more pure structure AABC, while songs 5 and 6 have five lines, AABCD, and song 8 also five lines but with a different internal structure, AA'BCD. The structure of the text phrases is used exactly as a model for the structure of the music; that is, the same structural patterns (AA'BC, etc.) are exhibited for the form of the music.

The phrase lengths are generally asymetrical depending upon the number of beats in a given line of text. The third line is considerably shorter in each song. Metrically, the cycle is composed primarily of six-beat word groups and can be musically transcribed into 6/8 meter with few exceptions. One exception occurs in song 3, where the second line ends with the word ka:c (lies), which is sung as $\overset{'\ '\ '\ '\ '\ '}{\text{ka - ce}}$. Line three begins with the word group kuñ sam (and there), which is normally a six-beat word group. However, here it is divided into two word groups, the first of five beats $\overset{'\ '\ '\ '\ '}{\text{ko - ni}}$ and the second of four beats $\overset{'\ '\ '\ '}{\text{da - ma}}$. This irregular meter creates a disturbance which is further amplified by the performance practice found at this point in the song. The first word of line three (kuñ) is consistently appended to the end of line two followed by a pause or music phrase point. The singing of line three, therefore, begins with the second word of the literary line (sam). The musical presentation, then, does not make good literary sense. The same disturbing feature occurs in lines two and three of song 4 of this set. Although I can offer no musical or literary explanation at this time for the occurence of this line linkage, I must note that other sets exhibit this same characteristic and with several accompanying features: 1) it frequently occurs in the middle of a cycle; 2) it is normally accompanied by a disruption of the basic text meter; 3) the entire third line may exhibit rhythmic disruption; and 4) stability is re-established both internally (with line 4 of the song) and externally (with the concluding songs of the cycle).

A second exception to the regular 6/8 meter of this cycle is the use of several 9/8 passages within songs 5 and 6. Interestingly enough, these groups are usually subdivided internally into 3 + 2 + 2 + 2
' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
(cu - kai - ge - me), the same pattern just described for the line linkage between lines two and three of song 3: 5 + 4. Although one cannot determine whether these variations are caused by textual or musical factors, one might hypothesize, at least with respect to songs 5 and 6, that the changes are text-related. In songs 5 and 6, when this text alteration occurs, the singer is announcing the names of two specific mountains. It is the name itself which is elongated rhythmically. These are the only geographical locations specifically identified in the cycle, and, therefore, they are set off musically by rhythmic emphasis. This phenomenon occurs at a point in the cycle which functions as a climax, the high point of the movement of the central characters through the Papago land base prior to the concluding songs.

Melodically, there is little that can be said concerning a textual derivation of the melodic lines. In each song, when the first line is repeated, the melody is different. However, the same rhythm patterns are used for each CV group except that the final CV of line 2 is lengthened. There is also no indication in this cycle of a heightening of the melody at any point in the song which could parallel a dramatic development in the text as found in other Piman song cycles.

Although this is not so "tightly knit" a song cycle as some others, it may be viewed as typical. It may help, therefore, to conclude by summarizing the musico-text relations noted in this paper:

1) Papago song cycles may be seen as highly textually oriented, even those cycles in which the songs are not closely related by compositional devices such as text variation.

2) Basic music structure, such as phrasing and formal patterns, and rhythmic and metric organization, are frequently based on the text line patterns and the meter of word groups.

3) Disturbances to these basic patterns, especially to the metric organization occur throughout a cycle and are followed by an appropriate resolution.

The dependence of musico-text interrelationships on the phonological changes from spoken to sung Piman have yet to be determined, although we may conclude by hypothesizing that the manner by which the CV groups are determined helps to establish a basic rhythmic pulse for each song cycle.

SONGS OF A PAPAGO CELKONA CYCLE--ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

Song #1

Green I'itoi came from the East.
Little green I'itoi came from the East.
And there he stood up and saw it.
Therefore the spreading land got green.

Song #2

Now you come running! The children come running!
Now you come running! The children come running!
They don't know the place where they arrived.
From there they dance zigzagged.

Song #3

The ocean lies far away.
The ocean lies far away.
There they arrive and see
White birds there in [the water side by side].

Song #4

The ocean lies far away.
The ocean lies far away.
Near it they see
The sea birds [making] tracks.

Song #5

Black mountain in front of the water stands.
Black mountain in front of the water stands.
They arrive there and see it.
The "remainder" women come running.
All raise up their arms together rustling.

Song #6

Foam mountain in front of the water stands.
Foam mountain in front of the water stands.
They arrive there and see it.
The "remainder" children spring out
And arrive all carrying foam.

Song #7

There's a big road, there's a big road lying.
There's a big road lying, lying to the west.
Big "gourd carrying" mountain stands there.
From here the wind blew noisily.

Song #8

There's a big road, there's a big road lying.
There's a big road lying, lying to the west.
They arrive there and see it.
"Remainder" children arrive and
Over Aji fields the songs end.

IV

ELEMENTS OF CHICANO SONG

swallow viii

ABSTRACTS

CANDELARIA DE RAM, S. (New Mexico State University) ACOUSTIC SPECTRA OF MUSICO-LINGUISTIC ARTICULATIONS: In accord with the theoretical models theme announced for SWALLOW VIII, this work models theoretical consequences of experimental study of a distinctive linguistic idiom of the Southwest: la música norteña. Notable as a first instance of the use of spectrographic methods on the prosodic complex language + music, the essence of the model is formally that

$$\text{Domain}_{\text{musico-linguistics}} = \text{Domain}_{\text{language}}\ R\ \text{Domain}_{\text{music}}\ \ldots\ .$$

With (1) geohistorical sociolinguistic documentation and (2) evaluation of concrete realization forms (such as phonetics), this example of model covalidation elaborates previous work on formalism and spectrum patterns of string articulation.

The model proposes a musico-linguistic domain or space, extending the concept of prosody inhering in the phonetic space concept used in speech communication models. That the phonetic musico-linguistic space concept has cross-cultural validity follows by observing that according to acoustic homology theory--general classification of acoustic forms--the most complex form of meaningful animal sound to date is human music. In sung language of the idiom, musical phrasing rules appear to supercede the phonological. Norteña musico-linguistic and circumstantial features show coherence with those documented by ethnomusicologists for AmerInd music of the territory.

NILSEN, DON (Arizona State University) THE DEATH OF LA CUCARACHA AND OTHER METAPHORS IN SOUTHWESTERN SPANISH SONG LYRICS AND OTHER FOLK LITERATURE: Niel Postman once volunteered to read a paper on a particular subject, and submitted a title to the program chair of the convention. But as he got more and more into the actual writing of the paper he got further and further away from the title, so that when he actually read the paper he began by qualifying each of the words in the title to the extent that he concluded his beginning by saying that the only really accurate word in the entire title was "the." In order to represent more accurately the paper, my title should be shortened to "Metaphors in Southwestern Spanish Folk Literature," since Spanish song lyrics are only a minor part of the paper. The paper discusses the metaphorical function of "la cucaracha," "lunar," "Jamti Damti," "barba," "grocerías," and "nada," and other disparate concepts by extending the concept of metaphor to be more appropriate to the bilingual situation.

RAMIREZ, CARINA (University of Texas at El Paso) A STUDY OF SPANISH LEXICON AND SYNTAX USED IN CHICANO SONGS deals basically with the lexicon chosen for use in Chicano songs, and reasons will be postulated for the choices. A combination of Standard Spanish, "Tirilongo" or "Caló," Border Spanish, and "arcaísmos" are deliberately used, the author contends, for various reasons: to fit the cadence of the music since the same "corrido" melody is often used for many different songs; to emphasize antecedence as in songs concerning lost land grants in Northern New Mexico; to indicate a quasi-acculturation into the English-speaking world and yet an underlying feeling of rejection and the need to hide true meanings from the "outside" world. Irregularities in syntax will be analyzed in the same manner as the lexicon.

REYNA, JOSÉ (University of New Mexico) IDENTIFYING CHICANO LYRICS IN SOUTH TEXAS SONGS: The paper deals essentially with the problem of distinguishing between Mexican and Chicano cultures. Because Chicano culture is an extension of Mexican culture and continues to be greatly affected by Mexican culture, it is often difficult to identify distinguishing features of Chicano culture. Consequently, it can be difficult to identify songs composed by Chicanos in Texas.

In this paper, several features of South Texas Chicano culture are discussed which can simplify the task of identifying Chicano songs.

THE DEATH OF LA CUCARACHA AND OTHER METAPHORS IN SOUTHWESTERN SPANISH SONG LYRICS AND OTHER FOLK LITERATURE

Don L. F. Nilsen
Arizona State University

Before I had submitted my paper proposal I had learned that the SWALLOW convention would be joined by a number of ethnomusicologists, and in preparing the proposal I tried to take that fact into account. My proposal began, "What is the English translation of 'La Cucaracha?' Is this a cockroach, Pancho Villa's funny little car, or a marijuana cigarette?" In various versions of the Spanish song lyrics it could be any of these things. Or consider another Spanish song, "Cielito Lindo." It begins, "Ese lunar que tienes Cielito Lindo junto a la boca." What is a "lunar" and how is a person able to get a "lunar" "junto a la boca?" Even after we realize that "lunar" is a dimple or a beauty mark of some sort, there is little chance of decoding the next two lines on a strictly literal level: "Ne se lo des a nadie, Cielito Lindo, que a mi me toca."

I had collected these examples before preparing the proposal, and I had thought that it would be a simple task to investigate other song lyrics for their live, dead, and dying metaphors, especially since I have a son studying Spanish in Mexico City who would be able to help me. My son, however, told me that he doesn't have time to listen to song lyrics right now, so I was on my own. After I had gone through quite a number of song lyrics I began to realize that in the first place, most of them were straight forward, and in the second place, for those songs which weren't straight forward, my knowledge of Spanish didn't give me the skills I needed for analyzing the metaphors. Therefore, although my title is "The Death of La Cucaracha and Other Metaphors in Southwestern Spanish Song Lyrics and Other Folk Literature," I'm going to concentrate on the second half of the second conjunction, "Other Folk Literature." In fact, the most salient word in my title will be the word "other."

What is folk literature? Consider the following poem:

Jamti Damti se sentó en un muro
Jamti Damti se cayó muy duro.
Ni la Guardia Civil ni la Caballería
supieron como se incorporaría.

Who is "Jamti Damti" and why is this a strange pronunciation both to Spanish and English speakers, even in its appropriate context? And what about the tone of "Ni la guardia Civil ni la Caballería?" Is it the same tone as "All the king's horses and all the king's men?" "Se incorporaría may be denotatively equivalent to "put him together again," but is it connotatively or "poetically" equivalent? This poem should tell us something about the translation process, for surely the Spanish equivalent is more interesting than is the English original precisely because it is a translation.

The Jamti Damti poem is not unique. Consider "Los Tres Gatitos."

Los tres gatitos perdieron sus guantecitos
y se pusieron a llorar.
Mama, Mama, tenemos que confesar
que los guantes nos han perdido...

And after two similar verses, it concludes,

Poneos los guantecitos, majaderos gatitos,
y os daré un pastel.
Ronrón, ronrón, ronrón, ronrón.
¡Qué rico es nuestro pastel!

Is it the translation, or the fact of translation that is most interesting about this piece, the fact of translation having to do with the trivialness of the original piece, the reliance on surface structure of such folk literature, and the changes of location of rhetorical interest in going from English to Spanish?

What is the nature of the pun in Spanish folk language? I regularly play tennis with a person who speaks Spanish as her native language. At one point I had lost track of the score, and she informed me that the score was "without elbows." Somehow, this didn't seem like a tennis score, but I took her at her word. "Without elbows" in Spanish is "sin codos." By changing the stress pattern slightly, and by making /d/ a stop rather than a fricative, "sin codos" becomes "sinco dos," and I had discovered the tennis score (although in the process I had lost two points in the tennis match).

This particular pun was made up on the spur of the moment to relate to a particular situation. I asked myself are there traditional puns in Spanish folk literature, and I discovered that there were. "Porqué metió Onassis a Jackie en un barril de cerveza?" The answer is "Para que sorba el griego.... Para quitarle el olor al Presidente." Sometimes the answers are included in the questions. "¿Qué es como oro pero plata no es?" "Platano es." At other times, like the tennis situation mentioned above, the answer plays on different morpheme boundaries, or different phonological juncture (or both), but is not part of the question. "¿En qué se parecen una manzana y un tren?" "No es pera" ("No espera") with the same phonological sequence meaning "It's not a pear" and relating to *manzana*, or "It doesn't wait," and relating to *el tren*. There are other, similar, questions. "¿En qué se parecen un preso amarrado en su celda y un abrigo?" "No es capa." ("No escapa"). "¿Cuantas estrellas hay en los cielos?" "Cinquenta." ("Sin cuenta").

There are even folk literature dialogues. The first person asks "¿Cual animal es el mas perezoso del mundo?" The second responds, "El pez." The first then asks, "¿Por que?" and the second responds with the question, "¿Qué hace el pez?" to which the first responds with the double meaning answer, "Nada." "Nada" in Spanish, which means both "It swims" and "Nothing," makes the fish the laziest animal in the world because the Spanish expression for "It swims" has the same phonological shape as does the Spanish expression for "Nothing." There are many such ambiguous expressions. For example, we own a small Chevrolet car with the name Nova. Although the name was taken from Latin and refers to a particular kind of celestial formation, it is nevertheless interesting that this model of car might not sell very well in Spanish-speaking countries, for in Spanish "No va" means it doesn't run.

But let's go back to the "nada" expression for a moment. Because this word is ambiguous it appears in many puns, of which one type is the equivocation pun. That is, each time the word is used it has a different meaning. The English expression, "He brings his suit, but never swims," has very little interest to the linguist, but the Spanish expression with this same meaning, "Traje traje, pero nada nada," is of interest not only to the phonologist who is studying various types of homonymy, but also to the syntactician who is interested in the meanings of individual words both in and out of various types of linguistic context.

Puns can also be bilingual in nature. Consider the following vignette: "Hay una mujer en un parque. La mujer deja caer su pañuelo y se dobla para lo recoger. Un francés y un español miran este incidente. El francés dice: 'C'est la vie." El español dice: 'Yo tambien.'" But of course the play here is not based on the similarity of meaning, but only the similarity of form of the Spanish and French expressions /se la vi/. French "C'est la vie" means "That's life," or "Accidents will happen," which has absolutely nothing to do with the Spanish, "Se la vi." meaning, "I saw it." It is only in a specially contrived linguistic context that these two semantically distant expressions can be brought together. It seems that such linguistic manipulation in the interest of punning is common, and the more far-fetched the relationship, plus the larger the number of words brought into the pun, the better it is. That's one reason that people are fascinated by the English homonymic expression, "They call their ranch Focus, because that's where the sons raise meat," (sun's rays meet).

Consider one further example of the far-fetched bilingual pun. A Spanish speaker in an English-speaking country walks into a clothing store, and wants to buy a pair of socks. Since he doesn't speak any English, he makes his request in Spanish, and since the clerk doesn't speak any Spanish, he doesn't understand him. The Spanish speaker uses all of the language and body language that it at his disposal to try to communicate his message, and the clerk, understanding nothing, keeps showing him various items in an attempt to find the correct one. In desperation he reaches under the counter and brings out a pair of socks. At this, the Spanish speaker says, "Éso si que es..." The clerk feels betrayed and says, "We could have found it a lot quicker if you'd said you could spell it."

Notice that all of the puns we've been considering are metaphorical in nature. Perhaps there are no differences in category between literal and figurative expressions, but only a difference in emphasis. How far must you extend and bend a literal expression before it becomes figurative?

In the case of puns, the stretching is severe, sometimes excessive, but for some people, too much is just right. Other people prefer to take things literally, neither extending nor playing on the phonological, syntactic, and semantic potential of words in their language.

For those who enjoy the punning process, let me suggest some possibilities without actually developing the pun, but rather let me try to create a visual image and allow you to explore the possibilities in your own minds. Let me list a few interesting body metaphors in Spanish. To me, it's interesting that the same Spanish word, *barba* is used in such a way as to cover our English areas of *chin*, *beard*, and *comet*; that *ceja*, the word for *eyebrow* also refers to the binding of books; that *garganta* means the inside of a throat as well as a canyon; that the fillers of cigars are *intestinos*; and that an *Adam's Apple* is a *nuez* (nut) *de la garganta* in Spanish. The handle of a cup is an *oreja* (ear); a *crowbar* is a *pie de cabra* (goat foot), and a rake has an *uña* (fingernail) instead of teeth. These same types of metaphors exist in other semantic domains. See, for example, "A Comparison of Animal Dead Metaphors in English and Spanish Speech" by Maureen Ahern and Don Nilsen which appeared in 1976 in *The Bilingual Review*. Incidentally, the metaphorical process gave us a great deal of trouble as we were thinking up a title for the article. The original title read, "A Comparison of Dead Animal Metaphors...," and it was difficult to determine whether it was the animals or the metaphors or both which were dead.

There are also special words in any two languages that would allow bilingual punning. Consider such Spanish words as *competencia* (competition), *éxito* (success), *nombre* (name), *realizar* (to be held), *sensibilidad* (sensitivity), *suceso* (incident), and *tuna* (prickly pear). Each of these words has a phonologically similar, but semantically dissimilar English equivalent. It would therefore be possible to develop bilingual puns on English *sensitivity*, Spanish *sensibilidad*, English *tuna*, Spanish *tuna*, etc. But this is merely food for thought, I shall not continue with such *grocerías*.

A STUDY OF LEXICON AND SYNTAX USED IN CHICANO FOLKSONGS

Karen Ramírez
University of Texas at El Paso

Many books and articles have been written on Mexican American Spanish, i.e., Tirilongo, Pachuco, Caló, Mex-Tex, Border Spanish, Spanglish, which would lead one to believe that the Spanish spoken in the Southwest were far removed from the "standard" Spanish spoken in Mexico.

The author, having become somewhat of a "pocha" in her estimation, began this research on the assumption that this widely-held belief was probably quite valid, although she had not noticed any startling variances in syntax or lexicon. However, as the research on Mexican American folksongs progressed, the premise of the investigation clearly began to take an opposite course.

It is the author's contention that the Spanish used in Mexican American folksongs, for the most part, is completely acceptable and that any deviation from what is today considered "standard" Mexican Spanish is actually acceptable for a variety of reasons.

When analyzing the Southwestern Spanish, one must remember its origin. Generally speaking, the Spanish and Mexican immigrants, who first came to the Southwest in 1591 and who are still coming, left Mexico looking for a better way of life. Wealthy, well-educated urbanites, who for the most part speak a so-called standard, or prestige, dialect, usually have no need to emmigrate, except in times of political upheaval, but the poor, under-educated rural peoples of the world, who for the most part speak a so-called non-standard, or popular, dialect, have dreamed of a "promised" land at all times.

The immigrants of Mexican descent have brought with them, through the centuries, the language of their time and of their social class which was popular dialect. The lexicon was maintained, partly due to isolation and partly due to the fact that, aside from native Indian tongues, Spanish was the only language spoken in the Southwest for years. Much of the lexicon is still maintained due to the constant immigration of people from the same rural background. This is evidenced, for instance, in the popular lexicon and pronunciation which is also still found in rural Mexico and, in fact, all over rural Latin America.

In this study, 65 Mexican American folksongs were chosen at random. Present-day folksongs were chosen because they were composed by and for the people and not initially for public recording, because they were composed in the fields, on the picket lines and in the barrios and not in the recording studio. The rhythms vary from the many Mexican styles, such as *corridos*, *romances* and *huapangos*, to those popular in Cuba and Puerto Rico.

Although lexicon and syntax varying from the prestige dialect was found, the rate of occurance was quite low; one would no doubt find the rate of occurence of non-standard dialect much greater in American Country-Western. And the majority of what would be considered non-standard is actually part of standard popular speech in Mexico and in Latin America.

Of the sixty-five songs studied, fifteen are completely correct, thirty-nine contain standard popular pronunciation, lexicon and syntax, eight contain definite non-standard syntax, nine contain non-standard syntax which probably resulted because of the meter. In the area of lexical items, three contain adaptations of English place names, twelve contain English loan words (four of which use the word *rinche* and five of which use the word *fil*), three contain calques which are also used in Mexico, three contain items which indicate English interference, and four contain archaic items. Twelve contain Mexican American Spanish slang (with the Pachuco version of *El Hijo Desobediente* using nearly half of all the slang which occurs) and one contains popular Mexican slang. Sixteen contain popular Mexican despective terms (ten of which use *gringo*), and four contain popular Mexican figurative vulgarities. Six songs contain English words with English pronunciation; of the four songs sung in English, three contain Spanish words, and one contains the English despectives "meskin" and "desperado".

The most common popular deviation in pronunciation is the use of *pa'*, i.e., *pa' que sepan*, *pa' siempre*. Although the use of *pa'* is not found in the prestige dialect, it is found in the standard popular dialect all over Latin America and in Spain. Here it is also acceptable on the basis of poetic license, and it is interesting to note that each occurrance is necessary for the meter. The common rustic *muncho*, however, appears in only two songs. The standard popular contractions, i.e., *q'ahora*, *'quel*, *qu'iba* and *'tan*, are also necessary for the meter in these particular songs. The loss of the "d", which is standard popular in many Latin countries, is found in one song done in the style of Jose Feliciano who is from Puerto Rico.

Another common popular deviation in pronunciation occurs in the area of vowel changes. The common vowel raising from "e" to "i" appears in six songs: *golpiaban*, *disgraciados*, *voltió*, *peliando*, *nochi*; *pi'ingañar* also makes use of elision. The vowel change from "i" to "e" involves an area of confusion from Latin to Spanish and the confusion continues today. *Ententaba* is found in one song and *envito* in another; with these two words, however, the change may be due to a false analogy with "en-" prefixes. In another, the verb *localecí* (*localizé*) might also present a standard methathesis. Another area of confusion which continues today is the change from "o" to "u". *Mulinazos* is found in one song. *Murir*, found in another song, might be a false analogy to fit the conjugation pattern; and in yet another, *cumpuniendo* is perhaps another false analogy. One more vowel change is noted in *quieriendo* which again is perhaps a standard popular false analogy with the standard conjugation.

Another area of pronunciation shows an influence of English. Adaptations of English place names are *Luisiana*, *Estocten* (Stockton) and *Livenvor* (Leavenworth). English loan words which occur are *rinche*, *cherife*, *taxas*, *chanza*, *troca* and *record criminal* which are both now used in Mexico, and *fil* which will be discussed later in the paper. The percentage of English loan words is relatively low when one considers the number of loan words from a variety of languages which have been incorporated into the English language. Calques occuring which are also used in Mexico are *Tío Sam*, *mojado* and *bote*. Only three lexical items are found which indicate direct English interference: *adventurero* and *demonstrarles*, each of which occur only once, and *contractistas* which occurs only once while *contratista* occurs many times.

Surprisingly, since many of the folksongs originate in Colorado, only four archaic items appear in four songs: *aprender* (*aprehender*), *abajé*, *abajó*, and *traiba*.

Contrary to common belief, very little slang occurs in these folksongs and then, usually, to make a point. In the song *Chicano*, which alternates English and Spanish verses for the fun of it, one popular Mexican slang item, *califán* (in which the "-án" suffix indicates a despective term) occurs along with two Mexican American items: *vato* (*chivato*) and *dale shine* (*muévete*). Nine songs contain one slang item each: *bolón* (twice), *bola*, *Al Capone chicano* (Mexican American mafia), *juilones*, *alambres*, *cocos* (Mexican Americans who are brown on the outside but white on the inside), *tortito* (*novillo*), and three forms of one word--*reganche*, *renganche* and *reganchista*; another song includes two place names: *Colo* and *Tejón*. The Pachuco version of *El Hijo Desobediente* contains more than any: *filas*, *jefe*, *trápase el menudo*, *Califa*, *grifa*, *vaisa*, *picotazo* and three forms of one word--*forjear*, *forjeando* and *forjees*.

Two words could not be properly identified. *Mi presencia* refers to a girlfriend; it perhaps is figurative and might find its origin in *pretensa*. *Brocal* is used instead of *brócali*, but perhaps it is a false analogy with the standard word for a well-curb.

The despective terms used are those which are commonly found in standard popular Mexican lexicon. *Gringo* has the highest rate of occurance, appearing fourteen times. *Maricas*, *patones*, *yanquis*, *perros juanes*, *gabacho*, and *jura* and *migra*, which are apocopes, occur in one song each. The title "mister", used despectively, is seen with *Mister Gil* (referring to a job contractor), *Mister Nixon*, and *Mister Canalis* (referring to Governor Connolley).

Standard popular figurative vulgarities are few and are used to put a point across. *Y no me la quita a mí ningún ladrón* is changed, in a second version, to *ningún cabrón*; *patrones* is changed, in a second version, to *cabrones*, which is certainly to the point. *Chingazos* is used to indicate unjustified blows, and *es puro pedo y puro vacilón*, referring to the promises of the growers, is again certainly to the point.

Nonstandard lexical and syntactical items are few. A pluralized pronoun is noted in *...su tierra, y se las robó*. *Cuando dimos visto* is perhaps a syntactical confusion with the past participle, as in *hemos visto*. *Las taxas hay que bajarse* seems to be used, however, to rhyme with *necesite*. Because of necessity of rhyme, an incorrect word choice occurs in *...flores/que no se puede nunca escoger*; a better word choice would have been *cortar*, but it would not have rhymed with *poder*, and while *coger* could have been used, neither *cortar* nor *coger* would have lent enough syllables to the line. In another song, the unknown word *destrociades* appears; it is believed that this is an innovative lexical item combining *atrocidades* and *destrozas*, just as words such as "beauteous" are contrived in English. Another popular error comes from the confusion of gender. One example is found in *el gestapo adoptado*, *gestapo* being a fairly uncommon word, and another example is found in *la amanecer*, which indicates the problem faced when the ending gives no indication of gender. Only one example of what might be English interference in syntax is found in *con sus sombreros en las manos*.

Standard popular syntactical and lexical items are also few: *entréguenlos* (*entréguenles*), *desen* (*dense*), *cuando vuelva de por Indiana* (*cuando vuelva de Indiana*), *te rebata* (*te arrebata*), *modo pa' vivir* (*modo de vivir*), *por la agua*, *esquiroles*, and *fuistes* and *agarrastes* which are a false analogy with the standard second person singular present tense. In the Pachuco version of *El Hijo Desobediente*, *antes que raya el sol* is found, but in the original, *antes de que raye el sol*.

A few more nonstandard syntactical items were found, but it is difficult to determine whether they are, indeed, deviations from the standard or whether words were deliberately eliminated to conform to the meter. In each instance, these items are found in lines with eight syllables and are as follows: *muchos dicen que no es* (*...no lo es*); *causa un pedazo de pan* (*a cause de un...*); *contaron el mismo* (*contaron con...*); *él no habla, Dios no lo oye* (*el que...*); *...motivos/ que en él explotara en ira* (*para que...*); *me halle compaña* (*...en campaña*); *puerto ricos* (*riqueños*); and *escuchan* (*escucharon*--every other verb in this song is in the past tense). *Cuando su pueblo vencido* eliminates *fue*, perhaps to meet the meter, but perhaps as a result of confusion with the literary *vencido su pueblo*. And *con rumbo del Paso* may, again, be a result of the meter, or it may be a false analogy with *el camino del Paso*.

It is also difficult to determine whether certain items are indeed popular syntactical deviations or whether here again words were deliberately eliminated to meet the meter of eight syllables. They are as follows: *se llevan los mexicanos* (*se llevan a...*); *querían conocer su padre* (*querían conocer a...*; *le gusté mi Elena* (*le gusté a...*); *empezaron echar agua* (*empezaron a...*); *l'aguas* (*el agua*). Certainly, the elimination of *a* preceding direct objects is a common phenomenon in popular Mexican Spanish.

Of the three folksongs which are sung in English, two use Spanish words and phrases for very good reason. In the song *Chicano, Chicano, soy chicano* and "'Cause to me, all I am is *mexicano*" are used to emphasize identity in the wake of quasi-acculturation into the English-speaking world. "'Cause I'm no longer the silent *pobrecito mexicano*" is used figuratively and sarcastically, revealing an underlying feeling of rejection. In *The Chicano Movement* is found one Spanish word in the phrase "with liberty's *guerrilleros*; in this case, the Spanish must be used since the English word "guerrillas" has a completely different connotation. In *Rinche*, the English despective terms "meskin desperado" are used at the very beginning to set the scene for a song filled with sarcasm from beginning to end.

A few Spanish folksongs make use of English words, again with very good reason. Three make use of English in jest. In *Chicano*, we find *pero yo solo sé que soy puro* "Mexican"; in *El Corrido de Pancho Villa*, *...les dice* "goodbye"; and in *La Cuca Gacha*, *Ya las cucarachas saben/Que el* "black flag" *se acabó*. Other English words are used because they indicate an American phenomenon for which there is no corresponding Spanish word. "Core-makers" *de funciones* is found in *La Santanada*, and "walkout" is found in the title, *Walkout en Crystal City*. In *No, No, Gallo*, we find "teamsters" which has almost come to be considered a proper noun in English.

Although *fil* was mentioned along with loan words for which there are corresponding Spanish words, it really belongs in the category of American phenomena for which there is no corresponding Spanish. *Fil* is used over and over again in five songs, and it must be used instead of *campo*. In Mexico, to work in *el campo* indicates working with dignity and it is never thought of otherwise; to work in *el fil* indicates stoop-labor without any kind of dignity at all. It is an American attitude which is extremely difficult for the Mexican and the Mexican American migrant to understand.

These folksongs contained many traditional Mexican phrases which may not be mentioned here; only two popular phrases were found: *pa' que sepan* and *que húbole*. Another area which could not find its place in this investigation is that of the figurative and poetic creativity which is found in Mexican American folksongs; it is hoped that one day this will be done.

Although the results of this investigation are not conclusive, they would lead one to believe that the Spanish used by Mexican Americans is, with few exceptions, acceptable. It is, for the most part, the standard popular Spanish spoken in rural Mexico which is the origin of most Mexican Americans. Any deviation from the standard popular dialect occurs for valid reasons including the necesssity of rhyme and meter, the necessity of emphasizing antecedence, the necessity of laughing and crying because of a quasi-acculturation into the English-speaking world, and the necessity of hiding true meanings from the "outside" world.

APPENDIX

CHICANO FOLKSONGS AND THEIR RESPECTIVE DEVIATIONS FROM STANDARD PRESTIGE MEXICAN SPANISH

Adiós Chicanita
y me da nomás bolón

Los Ambiciosos Patones
gringo
patones

Aztlán
...su tierrà, y se las robó

Chicanito
Mister Nixon
Tío Sam
yanquis

Chicano
bato (vato)
califán
chicano, soy chicano
dale shine
'cause I'm no longer the silent *pobrecito mexicano*
'cause to me, all I am is *mexicano*
pa' que sepan
pero yo solo sé que soy puro "Mexican"

Chicano de la Sangre Indiana
gringo

The Chicano Movement
with liberty's *guerrilleros*

El Contrabando del Paso
Livenvor
Luisiana
Mister Gil

El Corrido de Alfonso Loredo Flores
golpiaban
pa' quitarla del lugar

El Corrido de la Carga Blanca
entréguenlos
troca
'quel

El Corrido de César Chávez
cabrones
contractistas
cumpuniendo
Estocten

El Corrido del Cortito
alambres
brocal
localecí
muncho
pa' enderezarme
pa' trabajar
qu' iba

El Corrido de la Familia de Juan Corona
disgraciados
gringos
maricas
muchos dicen que no es

El Corrido de Gregorio Cortez
aprender
cherife
mulinazos
pa' que
perros juanes
rinche

El Corrido de Jacinto Trevino
cherife
querían conocer su padre
rinche

El Corrido de Joaquin Murrieta
agarrastes
cherife
Estocten
fuistes
gringo

El Corrido de Joe Cedillo
causa un pedazo de pan
escuchan

El Corrido de Kansas
adventurero
con sus sombreros en las manos
cuando dimos visto
pa' haberlo sepultado
tortito
voltió

El Corrido de Pancho Villa
les dice "goodbye"

El Corrido de Pharr, Texas
gringo
record criminal

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El Corrido de la Raza Unida

cocos
demonstrarles
desen
pa' que

El Corrido de Reíes López Tijerina

destrocidades
rinche

El Corrido de Texas

cuando vuelva de por Indiana
pa' hacerle
pa' pasearme
reganche/renganche/reganchista
se llevan los mexicanos

El Corrido de la Unidad

l'aguas
nochi

El Coyote

abajé
ententaba
le gusté mi Elena
podiendo

La Cuca Gacha

modo pa' vivir
pa' caminar
pa' luchar
pa' organizar
pá' presentar
te rebata
y las cucarachas saben/que le "black flag" se acabó

El Deportado

anuncia'o
fil
la'os
migra
mojados
murir
'tan

El Gestapo Adaptado

contaron el mismo
cuando su pueblo vencido
el gestapo adaptado
envito
q'ahora

El Hijo Desobediente (Pachuco Version)
- antes que raya el sol
- Califa
- filas
- forjear/forjees/forjeando
- grifa
- jefe
- pachuco
- picotazo
- quieriendo
- trápase el menudo
- vaisa

MAYO
- peliando

Mi Texana
- ...flores/que no se pueden nunca escoger

Un Mojado Sin Licensia
- bote
- gabacho
- mi presencia
- mojados
- traiba

Ninos Campesinos
- fil
- pa' campesinos

No, No, Gallo
- pa' Modesto
- puro pedo
- puro vacilón
- Teamsters

Politica en los Barrios
- él no habla, Dios no lo oye
- las taxas hay que bajarse

Quehubo Raza
- gringo
- quehúbole

Ricardo Chavez Ortiz
- ...motivos/que en él explotara en ira

Rinche
- desperado
- meskin

Rinches de Texas
Mister Canalis
rinche

El Ruso Zuñiga
Al Capone chicano
chanza

La Santanada
"core makers" de funciones
gringo
juilones

El Soldado Razo
cuando se acaba la bola
me halle campaña

Solidaridad Para Siempre
pa' siempre

Soy Mexicano, Soy Campesino
muncho

Trabajadores Campesinos
fil
puerto ricos

La Tragedia de Ricardo Falcón
abajó
Colo
con rumbo del Paso
chingazos
empezaron echar agua
gringo
la agua
pa' la amanacer
Tejón

Viva Huelga en General
esquiroles
fil
pa' mantener
pi' ingañar

Walk-out en Crystal, Texas
gringo
pa' mañana
walk-out

Yo Soy Chicano
bolón
cabrón
pa' que

Yo Soy tu Hermano
gringo
jura

✓

ACOUSTIC SPECTRA OF MUSICO-LINGUISTIC ARTICULATIONS

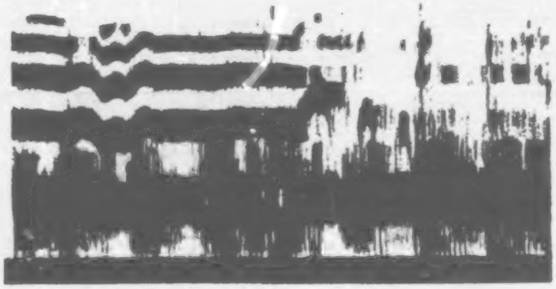
La queja en música norteña

S. Candelaria de Ram
New Mexico State University

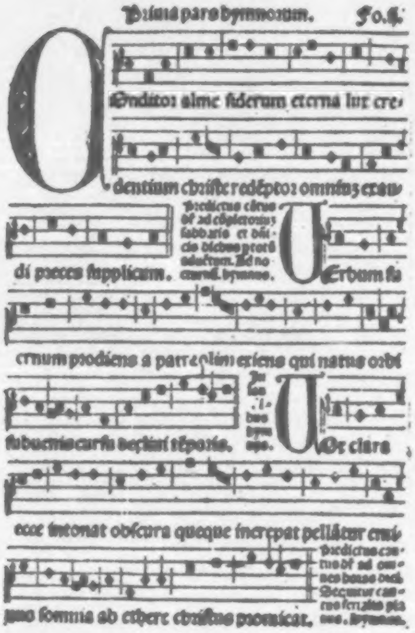
Song is phonetics. Song combines verse and resonators to create a concrete acoustic image. Song's art is having methods to differentiate a noisy sound from a pure tone from a composite tonality with overtones that interact momentarily. Song's science is the study not only of the methods that produce these differentiated images, but is further the study of the acoustic patterns of songs and associated patterns of their cultural meaning, or percept. Song's science must deal with the phonetic, namely that which is acoustic and meaningful. And this science of song is musico-linguistics.

A formal way of handling these matters is to define a musico-linguistic domain. (This will be the "place" or space where operations like inversion, syncope, intervoice borrowing operate. Call it D_{ml} formally.) The acoustic and percept correlates of song vary geographically from place to place. Norteña words, for instance may include "archaic" forms. Similarly the musico-linguistic domain D_{ml} has local phonetic qualities. Each detail, concrete and connotative, shapes part of the phonetic space.

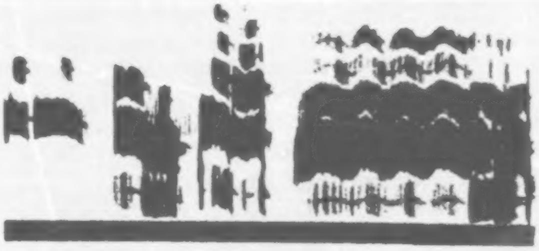
Graphing this song domain (musico-linguistic space) for a music idiom of the Southwest used the spectograph.[1] This is an analog tape loop scanning machine. It draws onto paper the momentary intensity at each frequency. The result is not unlike la notación mensural as used in Spain circa 1500. Do musicians intuitively perceive spectral graphs?



This double speed log scale spectrograph (#20d,6;4/79SC) shows a voice, accompanied by instruments. The long horizontal note with overtones is articulated with a one-and-a-half turn vocal shake, and followed by a grito (yell) ——∿∿—— + ⌒ ⌒ ⌒ and then by rough spiked (percussive) guitar chords. A typical pair of soft ascending chords follows the melismatic vibrato in the long note of the second spectrogram below. Used within a restricted cultural and musical context, medieval notación mensural did not indicate melisma unless it called for extraordinary articulation (cf. tremolo ∿∿), but as the sample from Subirá (1953, p. 243) shows, the idea is very similar once linguistic phonetic elements are placed below their respective places in the spectrum graph.


Prima pars hymnorum. Fo. 8.
Conditor alme siderum eterna lux cre-
dentium christe redemptor omnium exau-
di preces supplicum.
Verbum su-
pernum prodiens a patre olim exiens qui natus orbi
subuenis cursu declivi temporis.
Vox clara
ecce intonat obscura queque increpat pellantur emi-
nus somnia ab ethere christus promicat.

Melodías himnódicas en notación mensural del «Intonario toledano», impreso en 1515.



The second spectrogram shows the clear solo voice of Roberto Mondragón singing the terminus of a very old song (Muñoz, Candelaria, personal communications, 1979) that can be briefly indicated by "Morena, graciosa, . . ., tienes una enredadera, en tu balcón. Cada vez que paso, miro, y ahí está la dueña de mi corazón." It is a serenata.

Whereas the first spectrogram, with its grito and instrumental entremedio after each basically monodic verse can be cited as a Spanish prototype, norteña song structure shows special patterns. In the second spectrogram, for example, is seen the characteristic descending "terrace-like melodic contour" that ethnomusicologist Nettl reports (1965, p. 170) for this area of AmerInd. The observed spectral patterns in fact indicate that *on phonetic grounds* norteña may be placed as a musico-linguistic dialect on the basis of a combination and interchange of two substrata. Norteña is Hispanic in

> that Spanish folklore is substantially monodic of one single voice, even when it is performed by choir or group. But in the northern regions, it is usually sung *aduo*, by thirds, which is an esporadic way (sic), is found in other zones. This form is considered to be of relatively modern origin. The instrumental accompaniment of the songs for *dancing* is almost ritualistic, such as those of the *rondas* (serenatas like the one above), *Christmas songs*, and the *religious fetes*....
>
> There is still another treasure which is abundantly found in the melodies...the diatonic modes, appearing differently according to their style. These songs have derived their influences from perfectly identifiable sources which are the musical liturgy,...it was unconsciously transferred from the melodies into everyday songs, with the same couplets and *arias* to which the words were added according to the occasion, and the rhythm and form were modified by the new text with the new function, *ronda*, *dance*, *cradle* (lullaby), *song* (ballad), *work song*, etc. (Introduction, UNESCO Antología)

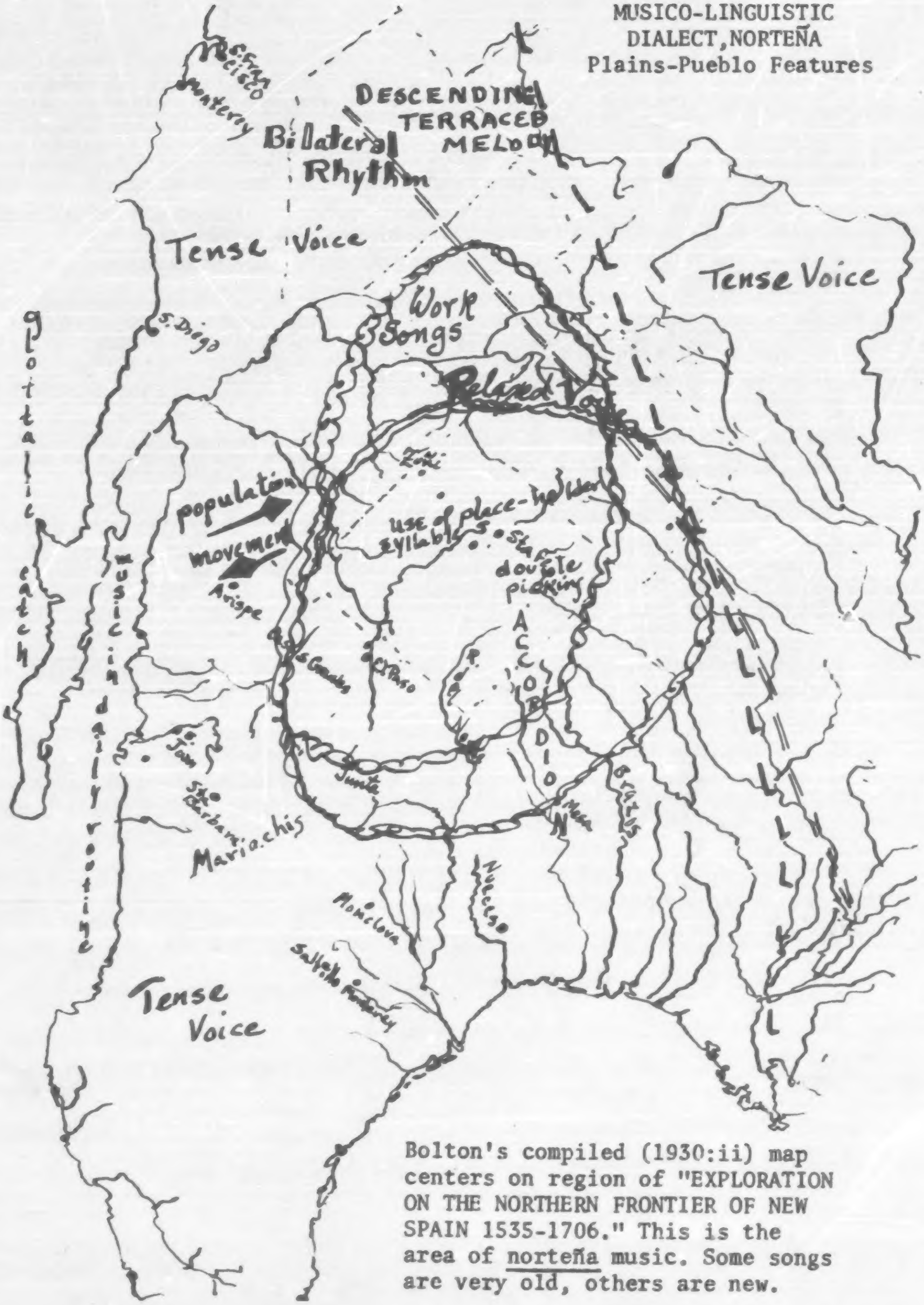
Robb, like Subirá and Nettl, reports (1953, p. 7 ff.) modal intonation in Hispanic songs of New Mexico from 1920's ff. The continuous modulation possible with human vocalization[2] and string instruments (Chordophones) fit well in such a system, it may be noted.

On the macrolevel, linguistic studies such as the careful undiscovered work of Candelaria (1936) on the transmutation of archaic Romance verse to norteña song have demonstrated commonality throughout the Latinate world, but not by virtue of a substratum of AmerInd. Phonetic findings indicate that norteña is phonetically *indita*. As a term for a lyric genre this is a restrictive term; for norteña's musicolinguistic phonetic space it appears to apply generally. As Robb put it, (1953, p. 20),

> It is quite clearly an *indita*, the words being Spanish and the music displaying Indian elements.

A dialect geography shows the placement of special characteristics, identified on it. This map, portraying the phonetic characteristics of what Nettl identifies as the "Plains-Pueblo" musical area, places norteña very well, geographically as well as musico-linguistically. The central area is most conservative, linguistically and musically.

MUSICO-LINGUISTIC
DIALECT, NORTEÑA
Plains-Pueblo Features

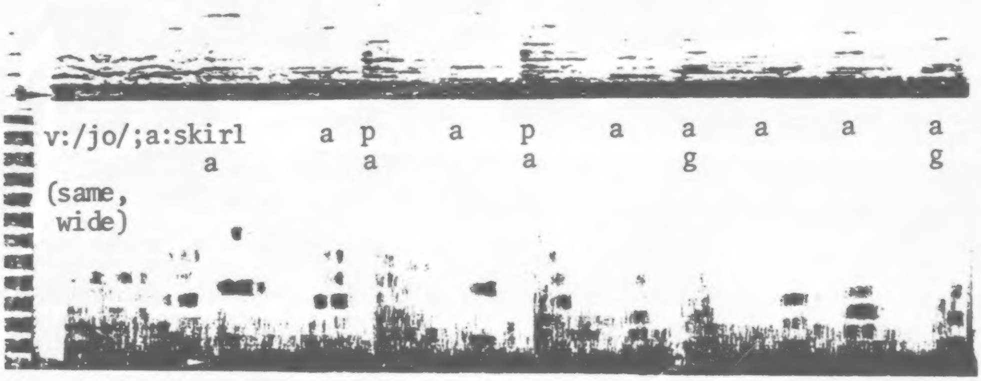

S. Francisco
Monterey
DESCENDING TERRACED MELODY
Bilateral Rhythm
Tense Voice
Tense Voice
Work Songs
Relaxed Voice
S. Diego
glottalic catch
music in daily routine
population movement
Arispe
Zuñi
use of place-holder syllables
Sta Fe
double picking
ACCORDION
Casas Grandes
El Paso
Junta
Sta Barbara
Mariachis
Brazos
Nueces
Monclova
Saltillo Monterey
Tense Voice

Bolton's compiled (1930:ii) map centers on region of "EXPLORATION ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER OF NEW SPAIN 1535-1706." This is the area of norteña music. Some songs are very old, others are new.

A spaciousness is produced in the music by glottalic catch-like interruptions, vocal and/or instrumental. A typical norteña spectrum contrasts with graphs of other traditions in this respect.

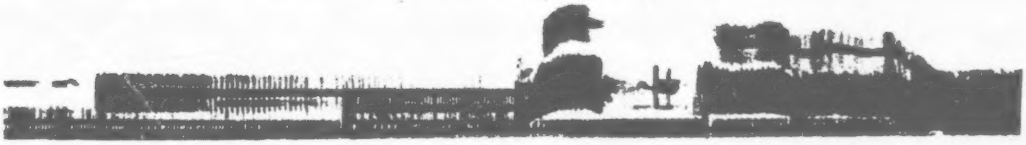
narrow band
linear scale

Los Internacionales Gavilanes: voice, guitar, accordion, percussion (v,g,a,p entries)

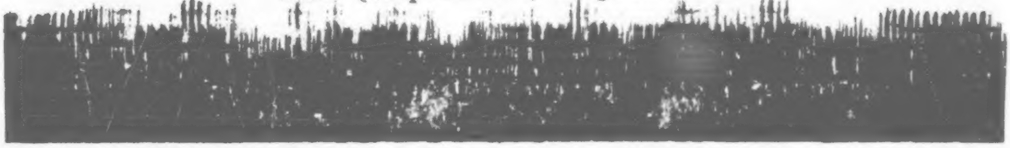


wide log

Margiana King (Sicilian, jazz)

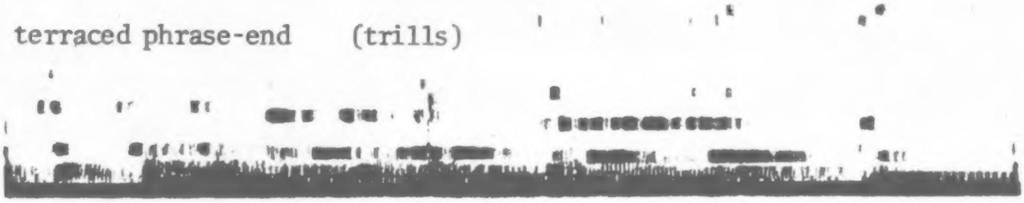


Bach (harpsichord, tempered tuning)



8' front stop, chords in thirds, alternating rapidly like skirl

La Isleta H.S. Marimba band ('Banana Boat')



Similar spaces are seen in the Pima recitative but the patterning in musico-linguistic space is developed very differently by using strong percussion and drone-like flute tones. The drone instrument gaita (bagpipe) of Spain long since must be absent from choice: A dance musician of the N.M.-Colorado border area in this century and last, had a gaita and knew how to play it. This was Juan Abeyta, maternal grandfather of Candelaria. Flute, drum, and chains appear to have become restricted to religious-connotation music (such as alabados) in the norteña area. In this, AmerInd and Penitente rites combine to effect a single characteristic of norteña instrumentation.

The usual pattern of norteña instrumentation showed three spectral voices. Where V_i is a particular musical voice and the common convention $\supseteq$ means "includes at least" the norteña formula of instrumentation is

$$\text{Instrumentation}_{\text{Norteña}} \supseteq \text{Voices}_{i} \quad i \geq 1$$

$$\overset{*}{=} (V_1 , V_2 , V_3 , \ldots), \text{ where the voices are, respectively:}$$

V_1 is the human voice, the basic component, usually solo or in parallel thirds, probably modal or just. V_2 is accordión (or harmónica, organillo, or originally gaita) and/or violin(s). V_3 is non-arco strings (guitars; electric bass, Spanish, bajo sexto, guitarrón, the treble requinto, and originally vihuela, which was sometimes bowed, according to Subirá 1953). Salterios and simple harpas would have belonged to this voice.) The formula is not closed; occasionally saxophones, spurs (handier to horsemen than the Spanish pandereta), and now the traps of rock songs show up their spectral traces. V_3 is usually a rhythmic and tonal anchor, however, "a moving bass line." This again allows spaciousness in the timing of the total structure of nortena songs.

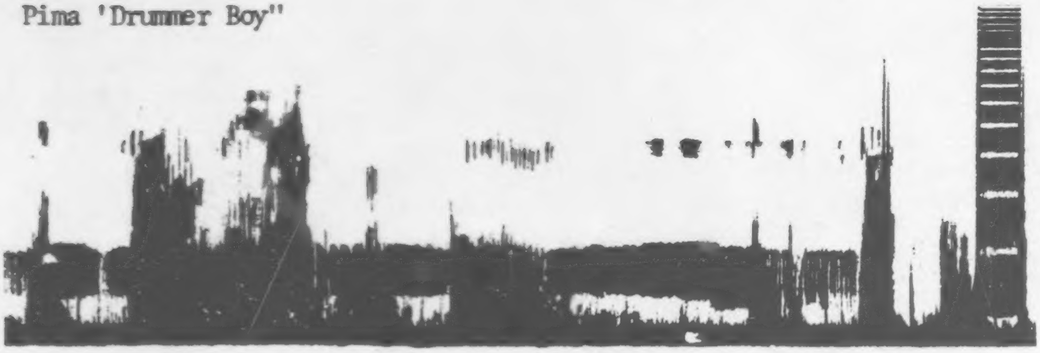
The musicological texture is also a function of the way the voices combine melodically and timbrally. The norteña formula for articulation of the acoustic space at the macrolevel was found to be as shown in the spectrographs at top and bottom of the previous chart. Its diagrammatic form for the whole song, much longer than a single spectrograph is usually this, where ¹ is a cue (grito, vocal comment).

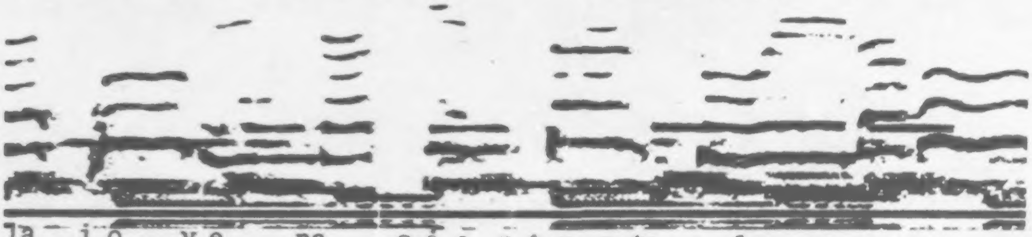
Intro ¹ Crest (theme) ¹ Entremedio ¹
(pre-thematic) pairs of lines, V_j (contrast)
(repeated or not),
Ornament follows, V_k, V_z
and may counterpoint
during lines also

This is a paraphrase in words of the spectrum pattern for each verse.

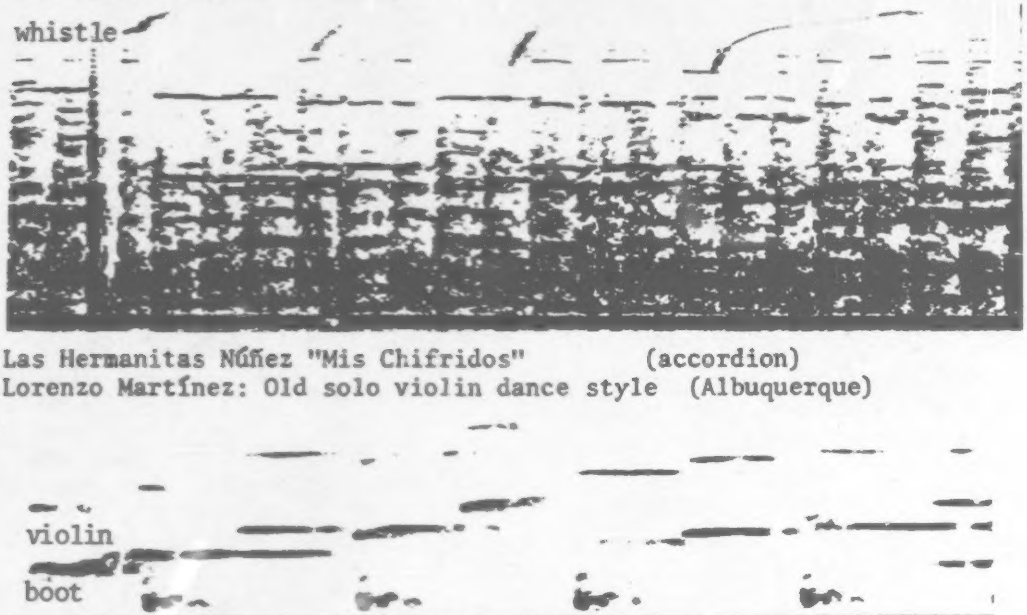
The musical texture can be continuous, spacious, dense, light.

Pima 'Drummer Boy"



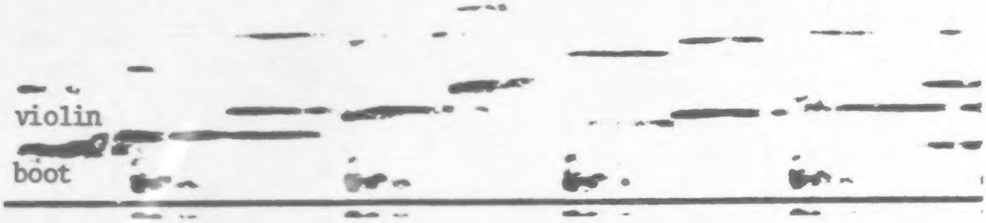


Mondragón, "Martina era la joven" (chords)

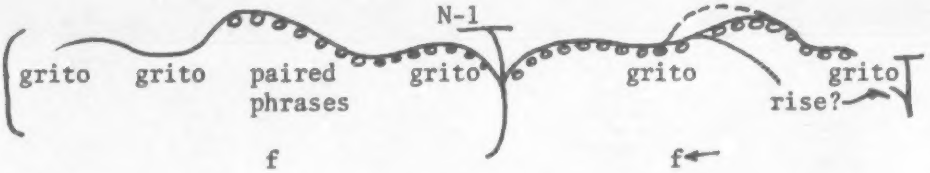


Las Hermanitas Núñez "Mis Chifridos" (accordion)

Lorenzo Martínez: Old solo violin dance style (Albuquerque)



Formalized further the pattern is a cyclic verse structure plus an ending for the whole song. This ending may be two simple ascending notes a third apart, beginning a third below the last note (and so providing closure for the melody). It may even be a counter-theme related to the contrast in the *Entremedio* and/or the *Intro*. Allowing interstitial spaces, ornament usually subdivides the note-durations of the melodic voice. Whereas the ornament may be faster than the theme, it is not restricted to a general downward, terraced contour. It is notable that as a consequence, while norteña music is indeed generally monodic, it is at the same time polymelodic, with two voices (thematic, bass) or three (either skirling or shadowing the melody like an extra fundamental). Using a subscript to indicate cyclic repeat (at option, as indicated by the parentheses), this may be diagrammed simply. (It is indeed usually the violin which shadows the linguistic line, but because they are so much alike spectrally only special recordings would illustrate clearly. Cf. C. de Ram, 1978.)



Of microrhythmic scope, syllables of song lyrics can be identified on spectrograms. This procedure brought to notice that, as Donegan and Stampe say (1978, p. 30), "It is not the words or the music; ...it is the way the words are put to the music." In musico-linguistic space even more than linguistic phonetic space *per se*, the interaction of language and prosody may be expected to produce compound entities. In the vendor's cry below, the spectrographic correlate of a voice timbre change between "Un...." and the more resonant "peso por cada uno!" graphically shows a (register) shift from spoken to sung utterance. From the analysis of *gritos* it is clear that the resonant portion is song and not cry. *Grito* functions as a special "musical instrument," but is a type of human vocalization along with whistle--although these are most different only in timbre. This means that phonetic linguistic space is probably not separable from more general musico-linguistic space.

Even more interesting is the interaction of (word-)stress with musicolinguistic stress, and the effect on retention of intelligibility by syllables. Adding a couple of phonetic observations to the one deducible from the vendor's cry--that musico-linguistic and speech melody or tune are closely related--the following would seem likewise to be true of musico-linguistic space: "The tune gives us a certain number of syllables (notes) with a certain accent pattern, but not the segments of the word" (Donegan and Stampe 1978, p. 29), except that spectrograms show that the tones of the tune are not discrete notes. They may not even be countable unambiguously: How many notes are there in the sample of *notación mensural* (measured notation)? First, tonal glissando or linking of diverse nuclei within syllable (or note) was seen in the very first spectrogram shown here. Second, the sharp separation by vocal break of what might be one syllable (note), into more, is one of the devices for acoustic spacing. It is used in norteña to indicate pathos, as well as in gritos and may be seen in addition to the acoustically analogous position-shifting in string playing. These appear to be the phonetic methods (operations) used in making the segment placement adaptations Donegan and Stampe suggest. In song verses the following phonetic phenomena were observed, which relate to musico-linguistic syllable and stress. They bring up some important questions about the interaction of prosodic and other rules.

(1) Spectrograms showed that Spanish word-stress was in some cases at least associated with the musicological stress. (Note that AmerInd song sometimes uses place-holder syllables to achieve suitable word-stress sequences according to Nettl 1973, Chapter 8.) Musico-linguistic context syllables were perceived as stressed when the sounded part of the syllable was shortened and thereby separated by a longer time from the onset of the next syllable. This is the same process as used for musical stress in metered tempo. (The techniques of low VU meter settings during scanning, to pick up only most intense frequencies, and overlay of narrow and wide band scans for best frequency and time resolution of the same phenomenon, are useful here.)

(2) Systematic rate alterations (regular, nearly double, and irregular; preserved on the master tape of spectrographed loops) show that the linguistic identity of the song remained more intelligible under rate distortions when the syllable edges were steeper. (Formally, the rate of change of the rate of change of frequency as the mouth opens or shuts, has a large absolute value for rapid juncture [attack, release]).

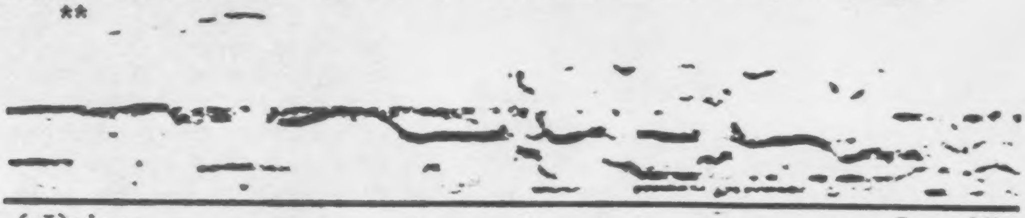
(3) Musical adjustment of this rate of change in the border of notes has been shown to be describable with terms for bow and tonal string technique, such a sutile vs. sautille. (C. de Ram, 1978). Rules of general scope such as largo or marcato were seen here to interact with microtonal articulation rules such as sautille, in the spectrograms.

(4) Finally, tonal intensity of the linguistically and musically stressed syllable resulting from the edge change rapidity described in (1) above does not show that the syllable is stressed. The intensity of stressed syllables may in fact be so much less than that of adjoining unstressed syllables that with low VU settings the shorter syllable may not be seen, while adjoining syllables whose resonance and length are adjusted for importance in the musical and/or semantic register come out dark and clear.

One would be led to think that prosodic and semantic realization rules override any intensity-level rule for word-stress in Spanish phonetic space.

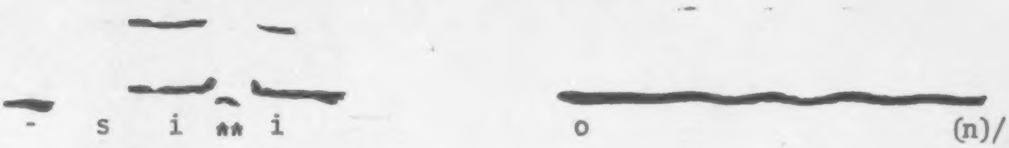
Song is phonetics, expressive acoustic patterning.

Vocal break & tonal contour differentiate musico-linguistic space.

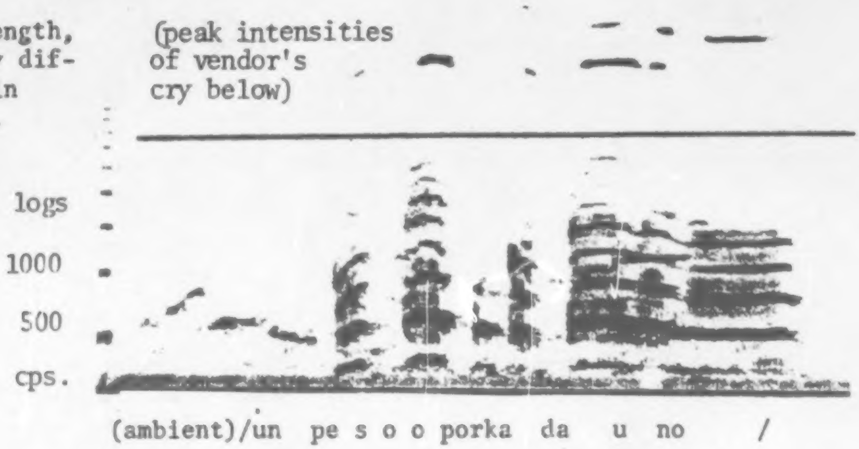


cowboy yell translated to grito: 'Ghost Riders in the Sky' to 'Jinetes por el cielo van' (allegro)

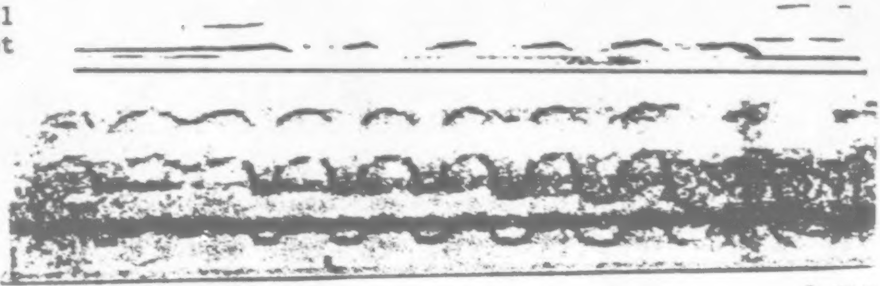
Hiugo Venallo, 'Aquellos Ojos Verdes' (lentissimo)



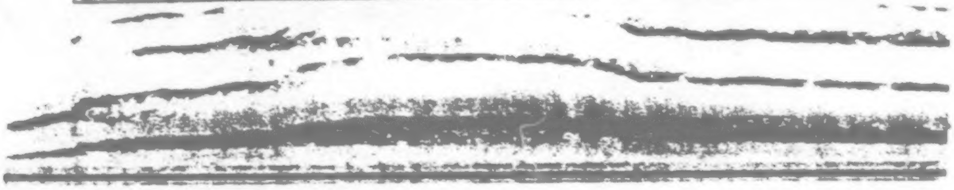
Syllable strength, length highly differentiated in vendor's cry.



Cri Cri's 'bark' in "El qomal" is yet more differentiated than real bark - a vibrato



Howl (wolf)



FOOTNOTES

1. The generosity of Dr. Ralph J. Raitt and earlier of Dr. Tom Linares in making the spectrograph available is very much appreciated. A Wollensak cassette recorder 2550 in tandem played direct Panasonic SE 1160 recordings onto the recording loop of the Kay 6061 B Sonagraph. The selected material was recorded directly from the spectrograph to a master tape at normal, 16-16,000 Hz loop-fidelity speed, and at irregular hand-turned rates. Some 60 items were analyzed on the machine with from one to 10 settings to focus on phonetic phenomena isolated by ear. In addition to the 100 plus hours of recorded material, performance techniques were used, numerous respondents were consulted, etc. Of the many I would like to thank I can but mention KRWG Fiesta and announcer Ricardo Muñoz, KFSC and Paco Sánchez, Brighton radio Joe Roybal, and especially Candelarias, Magills, Ginsburgs, Rams, and Sanchezes; Dr. B. L. Dubois, Dr. Craig Wier, D. King, and Dr. Alan Bell as well as those who have made their observations of sound structure available by music and literature.

2. As for the possibilities of what phonetic space can be, we can learn from formalism and sound production symmetries: Acoustic Homology. G. Tembrock (1963, p. 761 ff.) cites these types of sounds for animals (mammals: bird songs are also semantically differentiated). I. mechanical (stamping, musical instruments); oral air current unvoiced (click, hiss, spit). II. "Voiced sounds are produced by most mammals." simple (short/long monosyllabics limited by breathing rhythm, multisyllabics, requiring more skill than on/off and perhaps consisting of tonal or vocal break skills); sequences from shorts or subdivided long ("homotypical" arhythmic, "heterotypical" phrasal and/or rhythmic as laugh, which may be stanzaic). III. Mixed sounds: at this level of complexity "at least two different detectable sounds are superimposed. Very few observations are available so far."

   The present study contributes a case of "mixed sounds" to this homology: human music.

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ADDENDA

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Appreciation to the N.M.S.U. Media Services Center for loan of the Wollensak and to Dr. T. H. Fay for insights into spaces and the topological category is not to be inadvertently left without mention.

V

VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

Eswallow viii

ABSTRACTS

LEAP, WILLIAM L. (American University) CLEFT- AND PSUEDO-CLEFT IN TEWA INDIAN ENGLISH: Previous studies of sentence-level constructions in American Indian English have tended to examine such syntactic details solely in terms of perceived regularities in surface structure. Deeper motivations for particular sentence forms have largely not been explored (1) because the details of the corresponding construction in the speaker's ancestral language have not always seen sufficient attention for comparative purposes; and (2) even when they have, criteria for selecting between an English-based or Indian-based explanation of the given construction have not always been available--if, in fact, selection between alternative linguistic causes is the appropriate analytical tactic in the first place.

On previous occasions at SWALLOW I have explored aspects of this interpretive problem in conjunction with discussions of negative verb marking and cognate object constructions in Isletan English. To broaden the scope of that inquiry, I propose here to discuss sentences of the form:

> They ride bikes is what I see them do.

sentences which contain clefting constructions commonly attested within the English of persons in the 20-50 age bracket at San Juan and Santa Clara pueblos, New Mexico. My purpose in this discussion will be twofold: (1) to determine whether the presence of such constructions is better explained by reference to Tewa linguistic facts, English facts, or some synthesis between the two; and (2) to review the claims made about the syntactic component of Isletan English grammar in the light of the comparative data. The fact that this paper will offer one of the first formal explorations of any aspect of Tewa English syntax should also not be overlooked.

UNDERWOOD, GARY N. (The University of Texas at Austin) THE ORTHEOPY OF JIM EVERHART, OR HOW TO TALK LIKE THE PROVERBIAL GOOD OLD BOY FROM TEXAS: Jim Everhart's *The Illustrated Texas Dictionary of the English Language* (presently extended to four volumes) has two obvious functions--to entertain readers (including those Texans who can laugh at themselves) and to earn money for Jim Everhart and his publisher, Cliff Notes. Surprisingly, the books also have a serious value, for when examined carefully they reveal a considerable amount of reliable information about the phonology of one type of Texas English. Unfortunately, a large number of entries are linguistically useless and even erroneous. One example is Everhart's spelling of the common salutation *hidy* (presumably a blend of *howdy* and *hi*) as *Heidi*. The spelling is comical but uninformative. His rendering of *oil* as *all* exemplifies another type of misrepresentation, for the spelling suggests that *all* and *oil* are homophonous, but they are not. The former is pronounced (ɔɫ) and the latter (ɔəɫ), for which there is no convenient phonetic respelling. Nevertheless, Everhart frequently reveals a good ear for regional speech, and from many of his humorous respellings a variety of characteristics can be correctly inferred about the phonology of the proverbial good old boy from Texas.

VERA CRUZ, ISABEL Y. (san Antonio college) FILIPINO ENGLISH: THE SOCIO-LINGUISTIC IMPLICATION OF "TRANSFERS": Languages are not only different from each other but are also self-specific. The text in each language has its own formal, contextual, and cultural range, so that values and meanings set up in one language cannot be carried over into another; linguistic and non-linguistic parameters are not interchangeable. For these reasons, any transfer, as in translation, would only be an approximation, and the resulting structures would be inexact, inappropriate, and ungrammatical, if not unintelligible. Using samples of Filipino English transfers, this paper sets out to show that the variation and deviation found in these samples are a result of the difference not only in the formal and contextual linguistic codes, but also in the socio-cultural matrices between two languages as they come in contact.

CLEFT AND PSUEDO-CLEFT IN TEWA ENGLISH

William L. Leap
The American University

This paper is concerned with aspects of subordinate clause constructions as attested within the English of adults from a Tewa-speaking pueblo community in northern New Mexico. The data were gathered in conjunction with research funded by grant number NIE-G-77-0006, awarded to the Center for applied Linguistics to support a study of the impact of Indian English fluency on the development of standard language reading and writing skills. This paper contains the first public report I have made on data from that project; I am pleased to be able to include those comments within the Proceedings of the eight annual SWALLOW conference, since so much of the study of Indian English had its inception within previous meetings of the organization.

The sentences to be examined here are drawn from discussion between individual members of the Tewa community and one of three interviewers, likewise from that community, who were hired by the project staff to obtain such samples of spontaneous Tewa English expression from the villagers. These conversations were tape-recorded, with the participants' foreknowledge and agreement. The oral dialogues were then reviewed, using a typed transcript of the dialogue as a visual guide to aid in the analysis.

Preliminary review of the transcripts suggested that simple, declarative sentences were the most commonly occurring sentence construction type within the Tewa English corpus. The habitual use of simple declaratives appeared to remain unaffected by shifts in conversational topic, speaking task, or speaker attitude or interest in the discussion. Subordinate clauses do occur within the dialogues, however: adverbial clauses are the most frequent, and relative clauses the least frequent of those forms. And when they occur, subordinate constructions are treated as acceptable sentence forms by informants and interviewers: false starts, self-corrections, and other strategies for speaker self-correction are not a part of the sequence underlying their formation. Thus, the grammar of Tewa English appears capable of forming subordinate as well as simple declarative sentence constructions. This in turn requires any analysis of Tewa English syntax likewise to be directed toward comparable goals. To that end, I focus specifically on "clefting" constructions in this paper, although by necessity, general comments on clausal subordination as a whole must introduce the analysis. Reasons for the statistical "imbalance" between declarative and subordinate clauses also needs to be advanced; only incidental comments to that end will be made here, however.

Sentence (1) - (3) illustrate a common form of clause subordination in Tewa English:

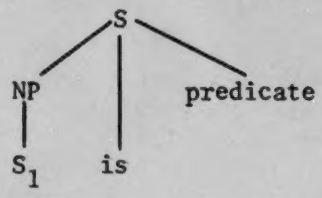
1) Don't talk about those things is not nice.

2) And that's a great change in their life is from grade school to junior high.

3) That be nice to be a nun.

At first, such sentences might appear to be instances of "run on" sentence constructions. Yet, if we take the surface structures on face value, assume they are the product of deliberate and not accidental sentence formation, an analysis as suggested in (4) would become appropriate. (4) traces the surface-level subject to an underlying

4.



autonomous sentence, which becomes raised directly into dominant sentence structure without further modification. By such an analysis, sentence (3) would result from the application of an additional rule, one which would postpone the infinitive clause underlying the subject NP into the post-verbal predicate. Initial that becomes the surface-level reflex of this movement.

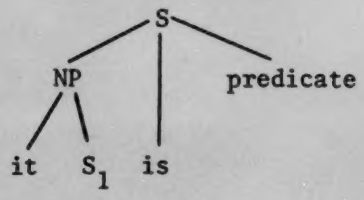
We could assume, of course, that the surface structures in (1) - (3) contain instances of deleted relative pronouns -- i.e. deriving sentence (1) from an underlying construction of the form in (5):

5) Don't talk about those things which is not nice.

By that analysis, the presence of is, instead of the syntactically predicted are form, would yet to be explained. The analysis in (4) dealt directly with that issue, by accepting is as an integral part of the underlying display; therefore (4) seems preferable to the argument about deleted pronominals for this reason.

Greater affirmation to the importance of the is for deep structure here can be obtained by positioning a display as in (6) for sentences (1) - (3).

6.



There the is is claimed to be concord with the underlying "dummy" subject pronoun it. The presence of that pronoun, in turn, provides a precise (and predictable) target for the sentence-raising required to integrate the underlying sentence into surface structure. Setting up such an abstract element under the subject NP is not as fortuitous a move as one might think. In Tewa grammar, every verb form contains a pronominal subject reference within the componential structure of the verb prefix. Positing an underlying it in the present instance merely carries that Tewa principle over into Tewa English syntax as well.

The next set of sentences, (7) - (10), presents more of a

7) They have never taken championship until last year was the first year in history that they took championship.

8) I heard him talking when they were saying about they didn't want the Indians.

9) Tell whoever is in charge to watch the children how they treat this man.

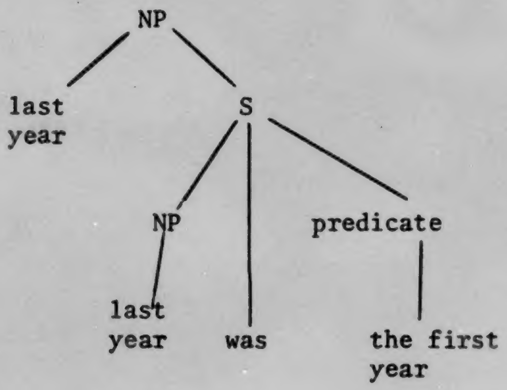
10) They ask questions how it's prepared.

challenge to the present discussion. Again, it might seem productive to view some of these surface forms as the by-product of English-based relative pronoun deletion. This would, for example, derive sentence (7), in part, from an underlying sentence as in (11):

11) They have never taken championship until last year which was the first year in history that they took championship.

However, sentences (8) and (9) do not yield so readily to such an explanation. And even if we posit relative deletion is assumed to give rise only to sentences like (7) complications still remain. The assumed underlying relative for sentence (7) would require a deep structure of the sort shown in (12).

12)



To form sentence (7) from this structure, equi-deletion would first be required, followed by relativization of second copy (last year$_2$) with deletion of the relativized second copy coming at some later stage in the derivation. The circularity of that sentence-specific analysis seems suspicious at best, and its limited usefulness in interpreting the syntax of other constructions within the corpus likewise cannot be overlooked.

Yet, a Tewa-based "relative clause" explanation seems equally nonproductive. As Kroskrity has analyzed the situation (1976: 102-109), Tewa relative clauses are characterized by an equi-deletion process which eliminates NP material from the dominant, not the subordinate clause. We need to consider whether the Tewa rule, or some reflex of it, might likewise be present in the formation of sentences like (7) - (10).

Sentences (8) and (10) appear to be totally exempt from such Tewa-based influence. Sentence (7) offers no criteria for determining whether the NP from the dominant or subordinate clause undergoes deletion. Sentence (9) offers a counter-example to the claim: The presence of the third person plural pronoun in the surface-level subordinate clause attests to the operation of the English, not the Tewa, grammatical rule. Therefore, Tewa relativization, does not appear to be the source of these constructions, either.

Reference to a second set of Tewa grammatical facts offers a more productive solution. As the sentence pairings in (13) will suggest, subordinate clauses in Tewa (as in the rest of Tanoan)

13) (a) namaen "he is going"

i to namaendi romu "I saw the one who was going"

(b) 'ihave "he broke it"

'ihavepiribo romu "I saw him before he broke it"

(c) romu "I saw him"

domu'raha namae "I saw him and then he went out"

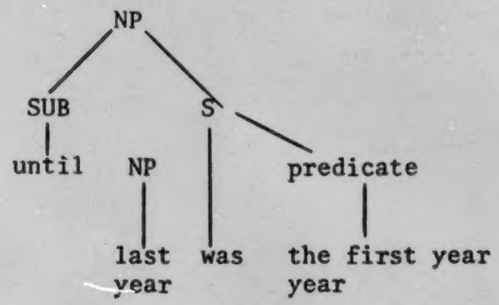
(Speirs, 1966: 106, 129, 144)

contain a surface-level marker of the fact of subordination, located at the right-most side of the subordinated string -- thus the -di, the piribo, and the -raha as cited. These clause final elements are termed "clitics" in my earlier studies of Isletan Tiwa syntax and now called "classifiers" in my comparative Tiwa grammatical notes. Speirs, the source of the materials in (13) refers to them merely as "optional affixes" (1966:140). Whatever their designation, the fact remains unchanged: subordinated clauses in Tewa are characterized by the presence of a subordinating marker in clause-final surface structure. Dominant clauses, by extension, are readily identified as the sentence-internal sequences which do not contain such a qualifying element in their right-hand, syntactic position.

The Tewa subordination principle can be introduced into English grammar very neatly, by allowing for a subordinate element to accompany every subordinate clause formed within (what would now become) Tewa English deep structure. Doing this would go far in accounting for the clausal structures contained in (7) - (10). In its initial form, the SUB would remain an abstract category, filled at a later stage in the derivation by an adverbial or other subordinating element from the lexicon. There is ample evidence that such low-level selectional constraint govern the appearance of SUB in Tewa surface structure. Only an adjustment in the Tewa-based rules governing the location of the classifier in surface structure would need to be made in the Tewa English derivation since English surface structure requires the placement of the subordinator in clause-initial, not clause-final position.

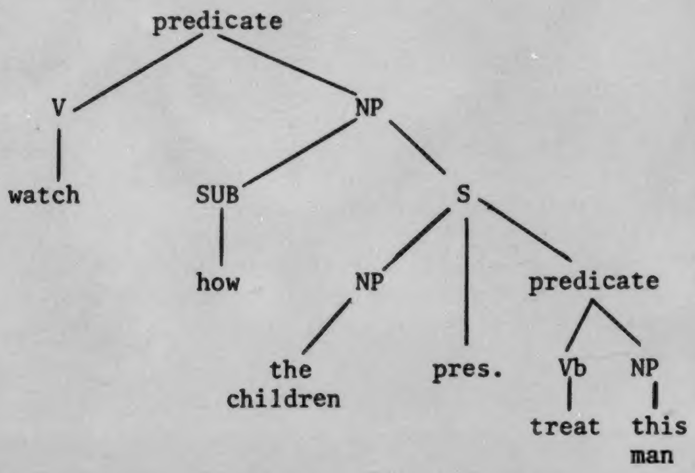
Allowing for this adjustment, sentence (7) becomes readily interpreted in Tewa-derived subordinate forms, in the sense shown in (14).

14) sentence 7



Sentence (9) could also yield to such an analysis as shown in (15),

15) sentence 9



once provision is made to raise the subject NP of the subordinate clause ("the children") into the main clause object NP. Such inter-clausal linkage, common to English syntax, is likewise attested throughout Tanoan grammar. Raising does not do violence to the Tewa-based claim here being advanced.

(15), in addition, provides further commentary on the scope of SUB-elements in Tewa English: By this analysis, forms like about and how, as well as the more traditionally accepted clausal subordinators like when and until, may be subsumed within this category.

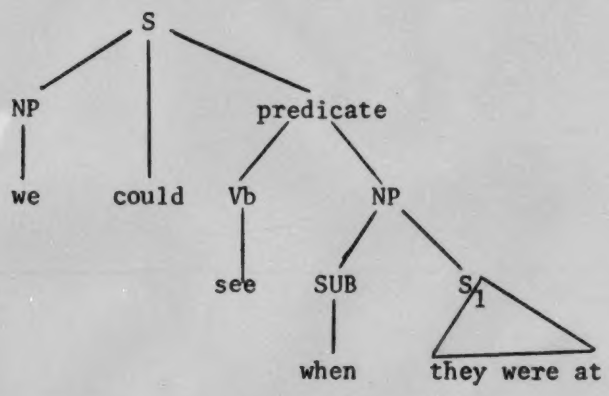
Sentence (8) and (10) yield to comparable analysis. The fact that sentence (10) may contain a cognate object construction, or the sort described for Isletan Tiwa in Leap, (1977:67-72) does not change the direction of this analysis. It merely shows that the subordinate clause in Tewa English may be the only grammatical material occupying post-verbal position within the sentence predicate.

Such an observation is critical to the analysis of sentence (16):

16) That night when they were at we could see it.

If we begin with a display as shown in (17), we may assume that the

17)



SUB-clause in the post-verbal predicate is fronted to the dominate S-node (using a process similar to that described in the formation of (3), above) with the it in the post-verbal predicate serving as the surface-level reflex of that movement. Such a use of pronominal forms is widely attested in both English and Tewa syntax, as attested in sentence (9) above and elsewhere in the corpus.

The apparant equation of when and where in sentence (16) needs comment. The corpus contains other instances of when being used where context might otherwise predict the occurrence of where. Hence sentence (18):

18) She went to when they had the relocation

a usage which is clearly distinctive from the more temporally focused comment implied in sentence (19):

19) (Interviewer question -- Is it in November?) Yeah, when they have (it) at the Kennedy.

The equation of when and where could be taken as additional proof that clausal markers are surface-level variants of the same, underlying, abstract subordination category. Such equivalence might also be traced to a coalescence of time and space dimensions into a unified "semantic field of existence," much as detailed in Dozier's analysis of Tewa verb forms (Dozier, 1953). Either way, the presence of when in sentences like (16) can be said to attest to the active participation of Tewa grammatical principles in Tewa English subordinate clause formation.

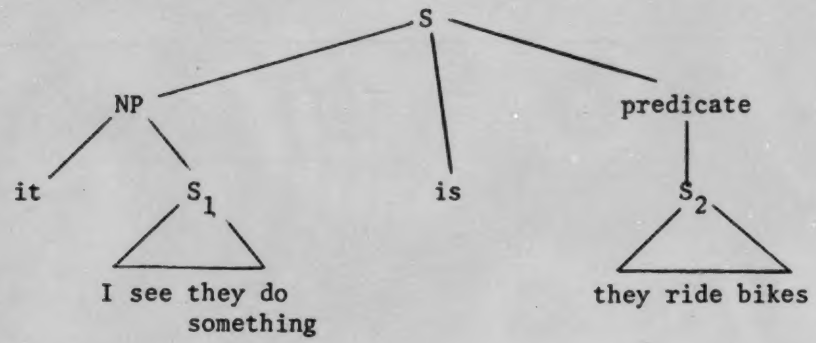
Against this background, we may now consider sentence (20),

20) They ride bikes is what I see them do.

a sentence which is typical of the cleft-constructions at issue in this analysis. Currently, syntactic theory would allow such a construction to be derived in one of two (quite distinctive) ways -- out of the base component, as advocated in Chomsky (1970) and Akmajian (1970); or, through application of transformational rule(s) to some previously derived base structure, as advocated in Postal (1974) and McCawley (1970).

To apply the base-derived hypothesis to sentence (20) requires we begin with the display as depicted in (21), which yields the kernel.

21)



suggested by (22);

22) it (I see [they do something]) is (they ride bikes)

(22) is then expanded, paralleling rules outlined in Akmajian (1970), to yield (23):

23) (what I see them do) is (they ride bikes)

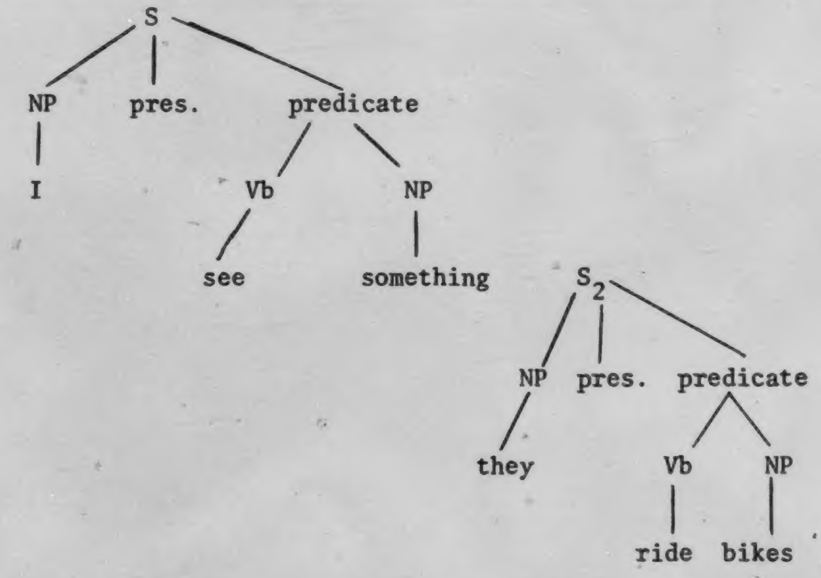
Base-derived analysis generates cleft sentences by extraposing the initial clause of the corresponding psuedo-cleft construction to the end of that sentence. Applying this principle to the string in (23), the desired surface structure outcome can be obtained, provided a rule is introduced to front the clausal material in the post-verbal predicate, before the clause-initial material becomes postposed.

The addition of such a constraint to the base-derived analysis may seem ad hoc. Yet, the resulting analysis draws particular parallels between sentence (20) and sentences (1) - (3) above, and herein lies its particular virtue. As Akmajian notes, any analysis of cleft-sentence constructions must account for the presence of the third person, singular copula in the surface structure of these sentences. As was done here, both the analysis of (1) - (3) and the analysis of (20), the base-derived hypothesis takes the presence of the is as a syntactic fact and builds the remainder of his analysis around that fact.

The transformationally-oriented analysis of such constructions differs from the base-derived analysis precisely in this point. Transformational analysis assumes cleft sentences are obtained out of the sentence's declarative equivalent. Thus, the analysis of (20) begins with an underlying display as in (24). S_2 is then raised to S-initial position, with pro-replacement of the original copy, WH-relativization of the pro-replacement, and raising of the relativized clause into S_1 structure. The result is as in (25):

25) (they ride bikes) (what I see them do)

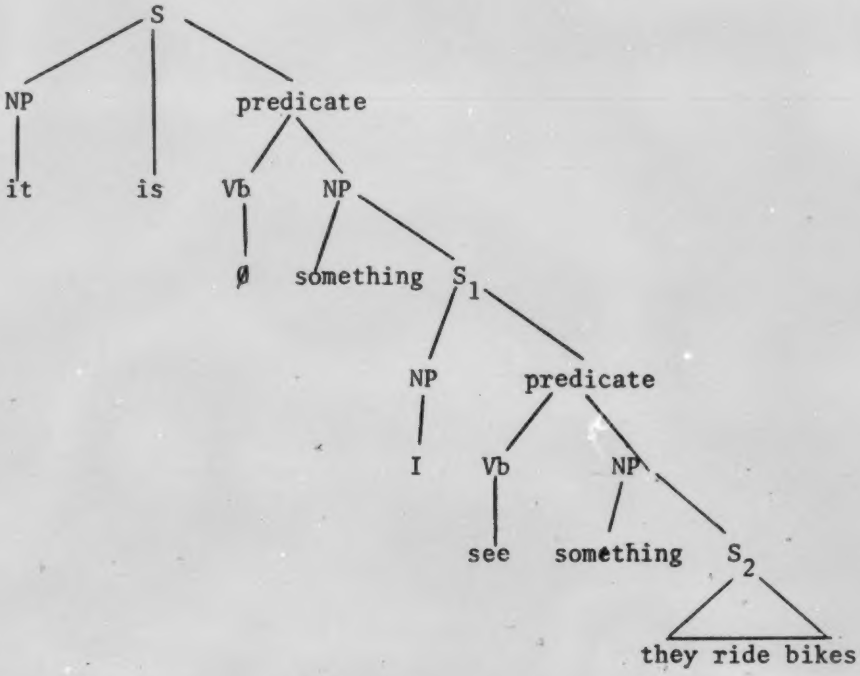
Unlike the case in base-derived analysis, it is no longer necessary to assume the presence of pre-or post-posing rules in order for



English grammar to handle the Tewa English construction. On the other hand, the transformationally-derived analysis provides no ready explanation for the presence of the inflected copula in surface structure. In fact, as (25) shows, *is* must now be introduced by reference to some low-level transformational rule before the sentence formation process will be completed.

This means that both English-based alternatives, if applied here, will need to appeal to ad hoc syntactic processes in the latter stages of their respective derivations. And, rather than attempting to posit criteria to decide whether "clausal inversion" rule is more or less fortuitous than copula insertion, it seems more in point to effect a synthetic compromise between the two arguments, much as is suggested by the display in (26). Assuming the underlying kernel to be as in (27),

26)



27) (it is 0 something)$_{S_1}$ (I see something)$_{S_2}$ (they ride bikes)$_{S_3}$

sentence (20) could then be formed through four additional steps. S_3 is copied into the "dummy" *it* under the first NP of S_1. Then, the first-copy of S_3 undergoes pro-replacement. Next, S_3 is relativized. And finally S_3 is raised into S_2 structure. The correspondence between (27) and the surface-level outcome of (20) is depicted in (28).

28) (it is something)$_{S_1}$ (I see something)$_{S_2}$ (they ride bikes)$_{S_3}$

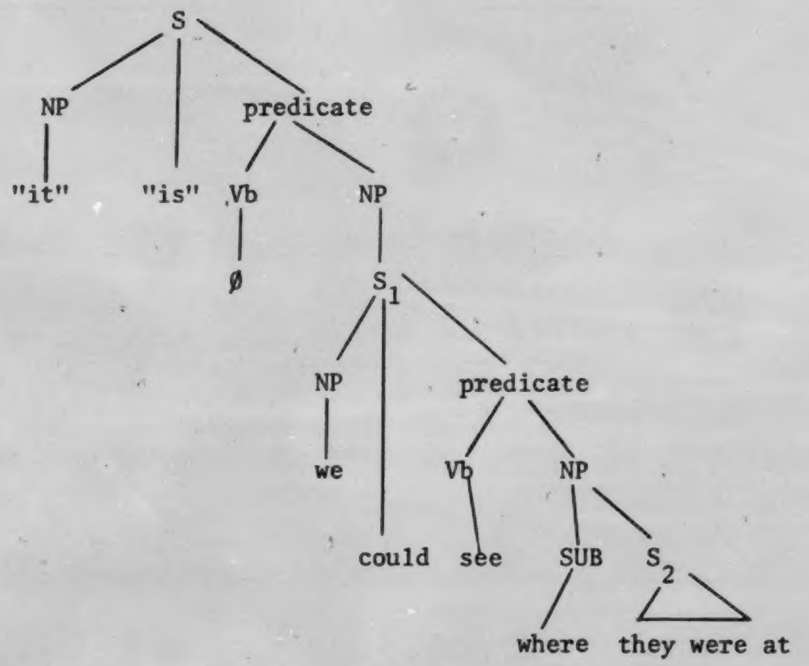
they ride bikes is what I see them do

The processes just outlined are widely attested in English syntax. And, following Akmajian's lead, the inflected copula is given significant place within the deep structure display. Thus, this analysis does not require the use of clausal inversion or copula insertion to reconcile deep structure with the desired surface-level outcome. Moreover, the derivation of (28) makes a direct parallel between the deep structure of (20) and that of sentences (1) - (3) even though the overall configurations are quite distinct in each case. And to the extent that such parallels continue to be drawn, a Tewa-English definition of "subordinate clause construction," one based solely in variety-specific syntactic criteria, will begin to emerge.

The status of sentences (7) - (10) and (16) within that definition still remain to be clarified, however. Since they also involve some reflex of the Tewa English subordination process, some parallel between (7) - (10), (16) and (20) should also be identifiable. Note, however, that the SUB-elements which played so pivotal a part of the analysis of (7) - (10) have not been employed in the analysis of (20). Moreover, the presence of the it is construction as S_1 in (25) seems to have no equivalence within (7) - (10) structure. The parallel is not immediately apparant.

Equivalence can be established, if the S_1 it is clause in (25) were to be interpreted in more abstract terms. This would allow a display of the sort suggested in (29) to be posited for sentence (16). Starting with that display, S_2 and its associated SUB would be fronted into the

(29)



unspecified it under the dominant S-node. The introdcution of it as the object NP S_1 would provide a surface-level reflex of the underlying movement: This in turn gives (30) as the derived kernel:

30) ...where they were at) is (we could see it

(30) requires the introduction of a low-level copula deletion rule, to eliminate the occurrence of the underlying is in surface structure. The circularity of such a move seems suspicious, especially given that it is the presence of the copula in surface structure which served as the guide to the underlying syntactic relationships for sentences (1) - (3) and (20).

Another way of establishing the linkage between sentences (7) - (10) and sentences like (20) needs to be found. A suggestion to that end can be obtained by returning once again to some basic facts about Tewa, rather than English language, sentence subordination. These would include the following:

- Tewa sentence formation in general is characterized by frequent recourse to raising, fronting, and other forms of clausal movement.
- It is the dominant, and not the subordinate clause which becomes modified or otherwise affected during the Tewa-language relativization.
- Subordinate clause markers occur in clause-final, not clause initial position.
- Specific clausal markers are introduced into an abstract SUB category late in the derivation, to serve as semantic markers of clausal relationships already established through syntactic process.

Were these facts literally to be applied to the analysis of clause subordination in Tewa English, a totally different perspective both on surface structure and the relationships giving rise to surface structures would be constructed. The analysis would, for example, call for sequences such as displayed in (31) to serve as the underlying kernel of sentences

31) it is SUB$)_{S_3}$ I see SUB$)_{S_2}$ They ride bikes$)_{S_1}$

like (20). That is, the main clause of the sentence would be "they ride bikes," the innermost component in the sentence structure; main clause status would be given this sequence precisely because this is the sequence which does not have a surface-level clausal subordinator in its right-hand position. The two subordinate clauses underlying (20) would be, as noted in (31), I see SUB and it is SUB. The following derivational process would then be used to give rise to the surface form: The S_1 sequence would be postposed into the subject NP of S_3, yielding:

32) they ride bikes is SUB I see SUB they ride bikes

The S_1 first-copy would then under relativization, yielding:

33) they ride bikes is SUB I see SUB they do

S_1 first copy is then "raised" into S_2 structure, yielding:

34) they ride bikes is SUB I see them do

The subordination of S_3 to the S_2-S_1 complex would then be marked, with wh-insertion in the remaining, vacant SUB node, resulting in the desired surface-level sequence:

35) they ride bikes is what I see them do

The derivational process is clearly "un-English," material is moved downward, out of the main clause and into the subordinate structures, whereas the reverse is usually assumed to be the case in English syntax. But, two Tewa-specific facts appear to justify such a proposal: First, the Tewa-English kernel structure itself is left-branching, so such downward syntactic movements are not only permissable but predictable. Second, Kroskrity's analysis of Tewa relative clause formation notes that the main clause and not subordinate clause receives syntactic modification, and such is precisely the outcome attested in (33), in (34), and finally in the surface structure of (35).

Note, then, according to the Tewa-based grammatical analysis, it is the presence of underlying, left-branching, subordinate clause arrangements and not the residual occurrence of an abstract it is sequence, which would be claimed to be common to sentences (1) - (3), (7) - (10), (16) and (20). Such an argument seems reasonable, taken on face value. Sentences (1) - (3) will readily yield to such an analysis as will sentences of the type shown in (7) - (10) and (16). Assuming that the arrangement underlying sentence (7) contains the components shown in (36). For example, the formation of (7) can be obtained by mapping clausal

36) they have never taken championship SUB)$_{S_3}$ last year was the first year SUB)$_{S_2}$ they took championship SUB)$_{S_1}$

components directly into surface structure. A reading of the interclausal configuration would then be required, to specify until as the appropriate surface correlate for the SUB of S_3 and the more neutral that as the correlate for the SUB of S_2. The presence and the operation of such a low-level lexical rule have both been anticipated at a previous stage of the analysis.

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FILIPINO ENGLISH: THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC IMPLICATION OF "TRANSFERS"

Isabel Y. Vera Cruz
San Antonio College

Role of English in the Philippines

The American era in the Philippines began in 1899. English was imposed as the official language, just as Spanish was during the Spanish occupation of the Philippines.

These linguistic impositions had a unifying rather than dividing effect on the country. The great number and diversity of major languages and dialects in the Philippines made necessary, even urgent, the adoption of a common language for communication outside the home.

From 1899 to date, English has served this purpose. It is the medium of instruction, and it is used for social, political, and economic interactions, and for international relations. Knowledge of the English language presupposes education, and consequently, better employability. Thus, the motives for learning and maintaining English as a second language are influenced by convenience and socio-economic rewards.

When prestige and practical values are attached to a language that is imposed on another, a striving to learn and approximate the imposed language results. Translation, and this can range from word-to-word to free, is one of the means by which this is achieved.

However, languages are not only different from each other, but are also self-specific. The text in each language has its own formal, contextual, and cultural range, so that values and meanings set up in one language cannot be carried over into another. Linguistic and non-linguistic parameters, values, and meanings are not interchangeable. For these reasons, any transfer, as in translation, would only be an approximation, and the resulting structures could be inexact, inappropriate, and ungrammatical, if not unintelligible. Such is the case of some Filipino English transfers.

Theory of Translation

"Translation, as a process, is always uni-directional: it is always performed in a given direction, 'from' a Source Language 'into' a Target Language."[1] Strictly and technically speaking, translation is the replacement of textual material in a source language (SL) by equivalent textual material in a target language (TL). The word "textual" is used rather than "text" because the entirety of the text is not replaced; that is, there may be lexical replacement but not phonological replacement. The word "equivalent" rather than "formal correspondence" is used because a category or class in SL may be replaced by a phrase, or a noun by an adjective. Thus, for a particular function or specific purpose or intended meaning, anything that can be said in one language can be said in another.

The process involves the substitution or transfer of (a) formal items, such as phonological shapes, words, phrases, clauses, and sentences; (b) contextual items, such as deixis and honorifics; and (c) socio-cultural items that reveal the X-ness, such as social values and cultural attitudes.

Therefore, a theory of translation must take into consideration the linguistic description or analysis of the languages (SL and TL) in order to discover points of equivalences and possibilities of replacements. Moreover, since the notion of substance and meaning are very important to translation, the theory must also concern itself with the contextual aspect of the form or utterance, such as distance (social, personal, and geographic or physical), as well as the cultural matrix, such as age, sex, and social behavior.

Filipino English: Illustration and Analysis of Transfers[2]

Filipino English is a variety of English used by Filipinos; it is expressive not only of Philippine realities, sentiments, values, beliefs, sensitivity, and temperament but also of Philippine syntax and thought patterns. Therefore, it contains deviations from the norm understandable only to Filipinos in many instances and thus may cause misunderstanding in communications with native speakers of English. This is especially true of transfers since to translate is to bring across from one language to another one's mode of thinking, feeling, and looking at the world.

Lexical Transfers

1. These lexical transfers may be of the same rank or class, that is, noun-to-noun, adjective-to-adjective, and so on, often keeping the same word order.

(1) Here he was assisted . . .[3]
Dito siya tinulungan

(2) Remains of the Philippine Revolution[4]
Bakas ng himagsikan

(3) People in comfortable circumstance . . .[5]
(4) Until here only.
(5) And of course also congratulations.
(6) Beautiful the winner.
(7) I am forcing her to enroll, but she does not like.

2. Sometimes there is a shift in rank, usually to a higher form. In the following examples, a noun in Tagalog is replaced by an adjective phrase in English, a particle by an adverbial phrase.

(8) The more a valiant soldier is wounded . . .[6]
bayaning

(9) She was a fantastic creature born under the moonbeams . . .[7]
diwa

(10) We can no more postpone our trip.
na

3. There are times when direct borrowing from SL is necessary because there is no parallel or equivalent in the TL.

(11) . . . tickled the imagination of the barangay dwellers[8]
(12) . . . her skin is tinted like green Tjempakka[9]
(13) . . . built the house bayanihan style

In some cases a gloss is added within the sentence.

(14) . . . give a pullet white as milk, one that had never laid an egg, a dumalaga, as they say[10]

Grammatical Transfers

The passive construction is used as the closest equivalent in English of the basic Tagalog object-focusing syntactic form,

(1) Here he was assisted
By Simon who was paid (underlines added)

(15) All these have been desired to be remedied by your loving mother (underlines added[11])

although (1) can be rendered as 'Here Simon, the hired man, helped him' and (15) as 'Your loving mother desires to remedy all these' without any loss or shift in meaning.

To maintain the Tagalog comment-topic structure, the English cleft construction is used.

(16) Money is what John used for buying.
(17) Her dress is that which makes Mary pretty.

In transferring the Tagalog extended NP ng-construction, the relativized transfer is preferred to either the gerundive or participial because it conveys the intended meaning while staying close to the Tagalog pattern, as in,

(18) The tobacco which he is still smoking in the center of the earth, will continue.[12]

Sometimes to avoid the pitfalls of relativization, utterances are translated freely, as in,

(8) The more a valiant soldier is wounded
The more he gets braver.

Either utterance could have been translated by the gerundive: (18) by 'his smoking of the tobacco . . .' and (8) by 'the wounding of the valiant soldier . . .' but then the transfers would have missed the Tagalog focus on tobacco and valiant soldier, respectively.

The following transfers show the influence of various Tagalog syntactic relationships:

(19a) Last night at the party I enjoyed very much.
b) Report your results and while you're saying, I'll write on the board.
c) That means we will not be able to implement.
d) About those paper clips, even in my office we don't have.

(20a) That was the first formulation where we thought that there should be agreement.
b) He is asking me where in Hawaii is the best place to see.

(21a) We all will leave together.
b) We two will meet at 5:00 p.m.

(22) Mary introduced me to his brother.
(23) I need a pen. Don't you have one?
(24) We sent through her a package.

Sociolinguistic Implication

For a long time, linguistic utterances that deviate from the accepted and expected norm have been labelled substandard and, therefore, draw to themselves all the negative attitudes--linguistic, pedagogic, social, and cultural--usually directed toward anything that is nonstandard or linguistically different.

Sociolinguistics, which views these "deviant" utterances in the larger context of discourse and speech or communicative event, has added a new dimension to the description, evaluation, and analysis of linguistic utterances. It questions whether linguistic theory is a theory of language or merely a theory of grammar. It accommodates language variation within a linguistic theory and analysis instead of relegating it to free variation, and asks whether the linguistic competence of speakers exposed to different languages is expected to be identical to that of speakers exposed only to one. It reassesses the purpose and function of language and suggests that communicative competence be considered in addition to linguistic competence. It shows the relation between linguistic variation and socio-economic and cultural factors and points out that since societies and cultures are not alike, then linguistic transfers could not have identical social matrices or reflect only one cultural experience.

That some linguistic transfers from one language are "deviant," that is, ungrammatical, ill-formed, odd, or even unintelligible from the point of view of the standard norm of the other language, may be because (1) the two languages are so different from each other that very few formal features are shared and, therefore, precise equivalences could not be found; or (2) the contextual range relevant to the linguistic form is not taken into consideration; or (3) the utterances are viewed isolated from and independent of the whole discourse.

Formal Features

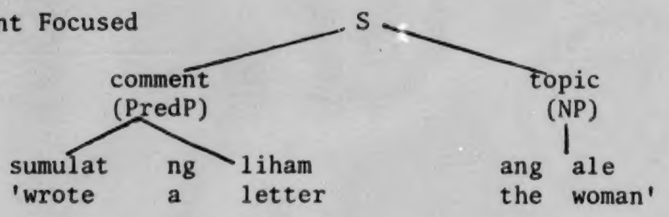
On the lexico-morphological level, Tagalog is agglutinative rather than inflectional. Verb forms use prefixes, infixes, and suffixes to mark morphological concepts other than person and number, or tense and aspect, and to show contextual concepts. For example,

sulat	'to write'	s-um-ulat	'wrote'
		s-in-ulat	
		i-s-in-ulat	
		s-in-ulat-an	
		nag-s ulat-an	
		nag-s ulat	
		na-s ulat-an	

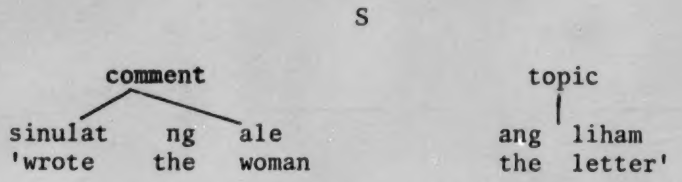
Therefore, lexical entries for Tagalog verbs will have to include features such as benefactive, causative, reciprocal, consultative, attributive, referential, locative, and instrumental. The difficulty in translating into English lies in the fact that these different features of the Tagalog verb cannot be expressed in English on a one-to-one basis. The verb will have to be replaced by an imprecise equivalent as in (8) . . . the more he gets braver, or by an extended verb phrase not basic to English as in (15) . . . have been desired to be remedied . . ., or clarified by a gloss as in (14) . . . a pullet . . . that had never laid an egg . . . .

The basic sentence structure in Tagalog is comment-topic or PredP - NP. The syntactic relationship is one of focusing rather than of dominance, and involves the notions (a) focus--a feature of the verb in the PredP which determines the semantic relationship between the verb and all the nominal elements, and (b) topic--the nominal element that is focused or brought into a position of prominence.

(25) Agent Focused


S
comment
(PredP)
topic
(NP)
sumulat ng liham
'wrote a letter
ang ale
the woman'

(26) Object (non-agent) focused


S
comment
topic
sinulat ng ale
'wrote the woman
ang liham
the letter'

ng -- non-topic marker
ang -- topic marker
-um- infix -- focuses the agent NP into topic position
-in- infix -- focuses the non-agent NP into topic position

(27) sinulatan ng ale (ng liham) ang pangulo 'president'
locative

(28) ikinasulat ng —— (ng liham) ang pangulo
benefactive

(29) nagsulatan (ng liham) ang ale at ang pangulo 'and'
reciprocal

(30) nasulatan ng ale (ng liham) ang pangulo
attributive

Therefore, the English syntactic form S V O and the notion subject-predicate would be stilted, stylistic, and unnatural in Tagalog, so that the tendency in translating into English is to keep within the Tagalog structure: object focusing as in (1) . . . he was assisted . . . who was paid and (15) All these have been desired . . . , Comment-topic as in (16) Money is what John used, and a relativized ng-construction as in (18).

The Pred P in Tagalog is not always a verb. It can consist of an adjective as in (6) Beautiful the winner or a NP as in "A teacher the president." Moreover, all NPs are optional in Tagalog; the Pred P is the only obligatory element and determines all syntactic relation with the NPs. Thus (a) transitivity is absent and is not reproduced in translation, as in (19a) . . . I enjoyed very much to (19d); and (b) word order is flexible and is ignored, as in (24 . . . sent through her a package.

Sociolinguistics disagrees with the generativists' concept of grammaticality because sentences are reasoned out a priori and judged independent of context. A grammar to be powerful must take into account the communicative use and function of linguistic forms and must consider units larger than sentences. In translation, structure is sacrificed to keep the intended meaning or content of the message. Translating is not simply looking for interchangeable synonyms; it is the transfer, communication, and expression of thoughts, feelings, and values from one culture and life to another. Thus, the oddness or ungrammaticality of the above samples of Filipino English transfers results from the need to preserve their communicative and expressive purpose.

Contextual Range

Sociolinguistic studies have shown that ungrammaticality, ill-formedness, and oddness of some utterances disappear when they are viewed as part of a longer discourse or speech repertoire, or set in some kind of contextual situation:

> Conversations, or discourse samples in general, are not well-formed or ill-formed as such, but only in particular interpretations. These interpretations will have to be based on assumptions about what is going on in the conversation. . . . There is no way, in short, of talking about grammaticality or well-formedness without getting in many ways involved in the details of social interactions by means of language.[13]

Since Tagalog utterances seem more context specific than English (as shown by the presence of a number of features not found in English), then defining the relevant contextual range accompanying each utterance is necessary and significant in explaining away the oddness, the awkwardness, and even the unintelligibility of transfers that a formal explanation could not accomplish.

For example in (1) Here he was assisted, "here" is the literal replacement of Tagalog dito; however, in this context, the deictic reference is "here, at this point or moment or time" rather than "here, in this place."

In (2) Remains of the Philippine Revolution, the word "remains" was chosen as the connotative/emotive/poetic equivalent for the Tagalog word which literally means 'trace' or 'vestige'.

In (8) The more . . . the more he gets braver, the double comparative is used to render the added context of 'keeps on'. Another way of rendering this context is by repetition as in "Mother was so angry she sermonized and sermonized."

Often in transferring the Tagalog context of situation, certain restrictions in English are violated. For example, in

(31) Low words are stronger than loud words.[14]

the reference is to 'whisper' and in Tagalog the contextual opposition is *low/loud* as in *low voice/loud voice*, and this contextual opposition is transferred to the English ignoring the collocational restrictions in English for *low* and *word*.

In (22) *Mary introduced us to his brother*, gender agreement is violated because Tagalog pronouns do not have gender opposition, and the choice of pronoun in this utterance is dictated by contiguity.

(9) *She was a fantastic creature*, describing a native mountain nymph will be misinterpreted by non-Filipinos because "fantastic creature" translating the Tagalog *diwa* means 'a fairy', 'a spirit', 'a creature of the imagination', that is, 'a creature of the world of fantasy', rather than 'great' or 'marvelous'.

The plural redundancy of "we all" and "we two" of (21a and 21b) results from the transfer of the Tagalog contextual distinction between exclusive (*kami*), inclusive (*tayo*) and dual (*kita*).

Socio-cultural Parameters

That language is an expression of culture, and that cultures differ from each other, are generally accepted facts. If some linguistic utterances are unacceptable because they are meaningless, it may be because the cultural setting is either ignored or is unfamiliar. Sociolinguistics recognizes the correlation between linguistic variation and socio-cultural variation. The Filipino English transfers (11) *. . . imagination of the barangay dwellers*, (12) *. . . tinted like green Tjempakka*, and (13) *. . . built the house bayanihan style* are formally understandable but contextually meaningless. Language purists and prescriptivists would judge them linguistically deficient and would reject *barangay*, *Tjempakka*, and *bayanihan* and try to substitute a lexically meaningless item, but the essence and impact of the Tagalog utterances would be lost, and the cultural situation they try to express would be missed.

Barangay refers to the complex socio-political structure of the ancient Filipinos which does not have any correspondence, similarity, or identity with English social and political system. *Tjempakka* is a native flower with smoothly textured petals and is light yellow tinged delicately with light green. This smoothness and this delicateness, a most desirable complexion for Filipino women, are merely implied by the choice of the word and can never be encompassed by any formal transfers or substitutes. *Bayanihan* refers to a self-sacrificing cooperation, sharing, and working together for a common goal without thought of rewards or compensation; no single English word can approximate its implications.

For the acceptability and intelligibility of some transfers, a non-linguistic situational matrix must be considered. Sociolinguistics recognizes the relevance of non-linguistic parameters in any linguistic description. "Sociolinguistics has been viewed, very largely, as a means of widening the contextual horizons of linguistics, beyond the phrase, beyond the sentence, beyond the utterance, to the speech act, the speech event and the speech occasion."[15]

To understand the message and appropriateness of

(32) Is there already?[16]

the contextual matrix of (a) interlocutors, (b) topic of discourse, and (c) nature of speech event, must be supplemented by non-linguistic parameters such as sex and age of interlocutors, kinship between them, social setting, and social behavior, because the intended message is "Are you expecting a baby?".

Filipinos tend to ask questions in the negative as in (23) . . . don't you have one? because the affirmative is felt to be assertive or aggressive.

In returning the study of language to its more basic and general function of speech and communication, in viewing language as part of the socio-cultural context, in including non-linguistic parameters in language description, in short, in providing a theory and a methodology for between structure of language and structure of society, and with the corespondence between lingusitic "code" and social "behavior," sociolinguistics has succeeded in accounting for existing lingusitic variation and in explaining away linguistic "mistakes" and oddness, inappropriateness and even unintelligibility of certain utterances.

Therefore, from a sociolinguistic viewpoint, Filipino English as illustrated by transfers, is different but not deviant. Its variation from an expected English norm is a result of (a) basic differences in the linguistic codes of the two languages as well as in their socio-cultural parameters so that few formal, contextual, and situational ranges are shared, thus limiting direct equivalences and replacements; and (b) interference, overt and covert, which normally results when two languages come in contact.

Moreover, in a sociolingusitic framework, no English is "good" English; it is only good under certain conditions: that it be (1) expressive of a specific context, (2) appropriate to a given social situation, and (3) fulfilling communicative needs of its users. Filipino English transfers clearly satisfy these conditions.

NOTES

1. J. C. Catford, A Linguistic Theory of Translation (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 20.

2. Unless specified otherwise, examples are from transcribed tapes of conferences and meetings, and from notes and compositions of college students in the Philippines.

3. Teofilo del Castillo y Tuazon and Buenaventura S. Medina, Jr., Philippine Literature: From Ancient Times to the Present (Quezon City, Philippines: Teofilo del Castillo, 1966), p. 79.

4. Eufronio M. Alip, Tagalog Literature: A Historico-Critical Study (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1930), p. 141.

5. del Castillo,op. cit., p. 24.

6. Alip, op. cit., p. 26.

7. del Castillo, op. cit., p. 24.

8. Ibid., p. 14.

9. Ibid., p. 44.

10. Ibid., p. 25.

11. Alip, op. cit. p. 87.

12. del Castillo, op. cit., p. 27.

13. Charles J. Fillmore, "A Grammarian Looks to Sociolinguistics," Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, No. 25 (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 1972), p. 269.

14. Alip, op. cit., p. 34.

15. Joshua A. Fishman, ed., Advances in the Sociology of Language, I. (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), p. 8.

16. Donald Bowen, ed., Intermediate Readings in Tagalog (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), p. 179.

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THE ORTHOEPY OF JIM EVERHART, OR HOW TO TALK LIKE THE PROVERBIAL GOOD OLD BOY FROM TEXAS

Gary N. Underwood
The University of Texas at Austin

The obvious purpose of The Illustrated Texas Dictionary of the English Language, by Houston humorist Jim Everhart, is to entertain by poking fun at the English of the stereotyped Good Old Boy from Texas. In his introductory note to the first volume, titled "Ex Texas Libris," Everhart writes:

> Nobody enjoys a joke on himself more than a Texan. This book has been done in good fun to share one small facet of Texas humor with you (Everhart 1967:I.2).[1]

The format of the dictionary is to present on each page a random word respelled to suggest its Texas pronunciation, a definition, and an illustrative example, e.g.:

> YAWL -- the pronoun of the second person plural.
> "Good to see yawl." (I:3).

Accompanying each entry is a large photograph of the author wearing an ill-fitting western-cut suit, cowboy boots, a huge silver buckle, a string bow tie, and an L.B.J. hat and posing in an exaggerated, comical manner. While Everhart's humorous effect is enhanced by his photographs, verbal illustrations, and frequent substitution of homophones (as in the preceding example of yawl for you all), the crux of the joke rests in the Texas pronunciation which readers are to infer from Everhart's manipulation of spelling.

Although his purpose is not "literary," Everhart's representation meets Sumner Ives' definition of a literary dialect: "...an author's attempt to represent in writing a speech that is restricted regionally, socially, or both" (Ives 1970:146). In order to appreciate Everhart's joke, readers must interpret Everhart's "literary dialect" properly. Thus, to a casual reader a "proper" interpretation is unquestionably important, but a "proper" interpretation is also important to someone with a special interest in language variation. If Everhart is attempting to record language of Texans which he considers to be different from that used by other Americans, then his representations are worth considering for what they suggest about the English of some Texans. Such an analysis must be done, however, with modest expectations because of the many limitations to Everhart's kind of treatment. For example, Everhart's dictionary is obviously predicated upon an exaggerated stereotype. While it is suggested that Everhart's persona uses all the features included in the dictionary, safer assumptions are that no one's idiolect necessarily has all these characteristics but that each of them is found in the English of some Texan. Even such weak assumptions are fraught with dangers, for there is the question of whether Everhart is to be trusted. Though he purports to be recording the way some Texans talk, it cannot be presumed that he is confining himself to a record and not inventing humorous pronunciations. After all, he says a Texan "enjoys

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a joke on himself." Even if Everhart is attempting to record with some realism, his reliability is dubious, for he is an amateur, not an academically trained phonetician or phonologist.[2]

Perhaps the biggest obstacles to interpreting Everhart's representations are the shortcomings inherent in the techniques used to suggest pronunciation. One such technique is grapheme manipulation. Interpreting grapheme manipulation requires the interpreter to make the correct assumption about the author's point of reference for orthographic changes. According to Ives, since a uniform standard for spoken English does not exist, a dialect writer such as Everhart "has no choice" but to use the standard of the region as "the accepted criteria." To Ives this principle is "perhaps the most important single axiom" in the analysis of dialect representation (Ives 1970:158).[3] Ives assumes that when a dialect writer alters orthography to represent a pronunciation feature, he chooses a spelling which represents that same feature in his own dialect. In other words, the claim is that the writer cannot represent his own dialect; he can only represent someone else's dialect with reference to his own. Consequently, Ives maintains that "a proper interpretation of a literary dialect can be made only in terms of the speech of the man writing the dialect" (Ives 1970:159). As a result, Ives argues that an analysis of the author's dialect is prerequisite to an interpretation of the respellings used to capture another dialect (Ives 1970:174). While Ives' "theory" may work for some individual dialect writers, it is too extreme for general applicability for it denies that a writer can represent his own dialect and it denies that his representation can be properly interpreted without an accompanying phonological description of the writer's own dialect.

A more tenable assumption is that postulated by Stephenson (1967:39) and Foster (1977:254). They posit that orthographic changes made to represent a literary dialect are based simply upon established spelling patterns which literate users of English have learned to associate with certain familiar phonemes. According to this position, to represent a particular sound in a dialect, a writer must merely substitute for the conventional spelling a grapheme or sequence of graphemes which are used in familiar words containing the phoneme or phonemes to be suggested. In general, a dialect writer "must rely on the common orthographic background he shares with his readers" (Foster 1977:254).[4] Even though English orthography is essentially morphophonemic, and not phonemic, in character,[5] both readers and writers implicity learn to associate phonemes and graphemes to establish "high-speed recognition responses" (Fries 1962:170). It is this familiar association which is exploited by the Stephenson-Foster assumption. Indeed, without such a shared knowledge of orthography Everhart, or any writer like him, could not evoke the intended responses from readers.

Grapheme manipulation, as exemplified by the spelling rilly for really (II:28), is just one of Everhart's techniques. He also uses either the apostrophe or truncated spelling to indicate elisions. Thus he writes 'bout for about (I:37) and cep for except (II:16). His most common technique is the use of logographic spelling (Wilson 1972:217) or the substitution of the spelling for a homophonous word for that of the intended one. Examples are deaf for deft (IV:41) and lack for like (I:12). Foster (1977:253) calls this technique the "least reputable of the devices" to represent dialect, and most serious dialect writers use word substitution only when grapheme manipulation results in cumbersome or confusing spellings. But Everhart will use the technique for the very reason others will avoid it: word substitution creates ridiculous incongruities which suit his comic purpose.

All of the foregoing techniques--grapheme manipulation, apostrophe, truncated spelling, and logographic spelling--allow a writer such as Everhart to signal variations in the occurrence of phonemes shared by the dialect to be represented and the dialects of the readers. They do not, however, allow the writer to represent easily either a phonemic unit excluded from the common set of phoneme-grapheme relationships or a subphonemic or diaphonic feature. These limitations are significant since the writer must eschew such features--often significant for the accurate representation of a dialect--or run the risk of misrepresentation.

Despite all the preceding caveats, an analysis of Everhart's literary dialect reveals that his treatment is surprisingly consistent and realistic. Perhaps most remarkable is the paucity in the dictionary of eye dialect items, which could normally be expected in a work such as this. Out of a total of 215 words, only seven instances of eye dialect are noted:

close	>	*clothes*	(IV:38)
forehead	>	*foured*	(II:29)
hidy	>	*heidi*	(I:32)
knowed	>	*node*	(II:11)
naked	>	*nekked*	(II:45)
ruin	>	*rueing*	(II:19)
you	>	*yew*	(I:5)

In addition to these seven unphonetic spellings, twelve others can be rejected as improbable for a variety of reasons. For example, *riot* for *right* (I:7) suggests a dissyllabic pronunciation, *camphor* for *campfire* (III:47) has the wrong stress pattern, and *sabra* for *zebra* (IV:45) incorrectly suggests not only an initial voiceless consonant instead of a voiced one but a low central vowel instead of a non-low front one. Significantly, though, less than nine percent of Everhart's words have outright comic unphonetic spellings. The remaining items in Everhart's dictionary appear to be relatively accurate representations of selected characteristics of a kind of English spoken by some Anglo Texans.

According to Everhart's treatment, several consonantal changes occur in Texas English. In addition to the expected intrusive /r/ in *warsh* (II:35), the excrescent /t/ in *wunst* (II:5) and the assimilation of /k/ to /t/ in *ast* (II:28) or of /ŋ/ to /n/ in *strenth* (IV:17), Everhart records a variety of consonant cluster simplifications[6] as in the following examples:

/ft > f/	*deft*	>	*deaf*	(IV:41)
/st > s/	*last*	>	*lass*	(III:11)
/kt > k/	*expect*	>	*speck*	(III:9)
/pt > p/	*except*	>	*cep*	(II:16)
/nt > n/	*center*	>	*sinner*	(III:19)
/nd > n/	*Sunday*	>	*Sunny*	(IV:43)
/hy > y/	*Houston*	>	*Yewston*	(IV:3)
/hw > w/	*white*	>	*watt*	(I:6)

Everhart also records the loss of postvocalic /l/ in /lC/ clusters,[7] as in *guff* for *gulf* (III:22), *hep* for *help* (I:45), *hoed* for *hold* (IV:26), and *mihyun* for *million* (II:41). While Everhart never suggests that postvocalic /r/ is absent in Texas English, he does note the deletion of prevocalic /r/ after /θ/ in *thowed* for *throwed* (I:15) and *thote* for *throat* (I:30).[8]

Everhart also uses truncated spellings, apostrophes, and logographic spellings to record the deletion of unstressed syllables in initial, medial, and final positions:[9]

INITIAL:	*about*	>	*'bout*	(I:37)
	except	>	*cep*	(II:16)
	remember	>	*member*	(III:25)
MEDIAL:	*liable*	>	*libel*	(II:39)
FINAL:	*error*	>	*heir*	(IV:27)
	terror	>	*tear*	(III:14)

While a variety of initial unstressed syllables are deleted, medial syllable deletion is limited to /ə/ and final syllable loss is confined to /ər/ following stressed postvocalic /r/.

Everhart's dialect spellings also record thirteen instances of vowel elision,[10] which is related to syllable deletion. In most instances the elided /ə/ results in consonant clusters, prevocalically in *blow* for *below* (IV:5), *claps* for *collapse* (IV:24), *prayed* for *parade* (III:29), and postvocalically in *bork* for *boric* (III:33), *coarse* for *chorus* (II:17) and *tearse* for *terrace* (II:32). When a postvocalic cluster is created by elision, the cluster is always /rC/. In some instances the reduced vowel is deleted following an open syllable plus juncture, as in *bean* for *being* (II:27). The result is a closed syllable with a tense vowel.

Predictably, most of Everhart's presentation of literary dialect focuses upon stressed vowels and diphthongs. His treatment suggests that the three falling diphthongs, /ɑι/, /ɑυ/, and /ɔι/ undergo shortening in Texas English. According to Everhart's presentation the diphthong /ɑυ/ does not occur before /r/, being consistently shortened to /ɑ/:

coward > card (II:47)

hour > are (II:22)

power > par (II:43)

sour > sar (II:44)

tower > tar (IV:17)

Presumably, the diphthong /ɑυ/ is retained in all other environments.

Everhart's treatment of the other diphthongs is less satisfactory, for his spelling of boil as ball (III:8), foil as fall (IV:34), and oil as all (II:3) invite the interpretation of /ɔ/ before /l/. These logographic substitutions more than likely block the correct interpretation since, for example all and oil are probably not homophonous, all being pronounced [ɔɫ] and oil [ɔəɫ].[11] There is, of course, no convenient way to represent orthographically the diaphone [ɔə]. Everhart calls no attention to the pronunciation of /ɔι/ in any other environment, but he indicates that regardless of the phonological environment /ɑι/ is monophthongized, as in the following examples:

kite > cot (IV:36)

pride > prod (I:24)

eyes > ahs (III:15)

blind > blond (I:11)

dial > doll (II:4)

choir > quahr (II:24)

bye > bah (II:48)

These spellings all suggest that Texas English /ɑι/ is merged with the low central vowel /ɑ/, but it is reasonable to assume that /ɑ/ and /ɑι/ remain distinct, the latter being monophthongized to the retracted low front vowel [a].[12] In some dialects, however, the phonemes /ɑ/ and /ɑι/ do collapse as /ɑ/ before /l/ and /r/. Exactly what Everhart is trying to represent is not clear.

The apparant collapsing of /ɑι/, and /ɑυ/, and /ɑ/ before /r/ is merely part of a larger pattern of changes which leaves in the Texas

English system just three vowel contrasts before /r/--/ɛ/, /ɑ/, and /o/. Everhart indicates that /ɛ/ is regularly lowered and retracted to /ɑ/ with such spellings as *barley* for *barely* (I:9) and *stars* for *stairs* (II:18). The central vowel /ʌ/ is also lowered, as revealed by *consarn* for *concern* (I:35) and *parson* for *person* (IV:42). The fifth vowel to collapse with /ɑ/ in Everhart's version of Texas English is the low back rounded vowel /ɔ/.[13] He spells *form* as *farm* (IV:40) and *lord* as *lard* (I:18). Everhart suggests that the highest vowels to occur before /r/ are /ɛ/ and /o/, for he writes *beer* as *bear* (II:37), *ear* as *air* (I:42), and *leary* as *larry* (I:23).[14] The mid back vowel is indicated with the spellings of *poor* as *pour* (I:10) and *pore* (III:18), *sure* as *shore* (IV:7), and *your* as *yore* (I:8).[15] There are no spellings to suggest either /ʊ/ or /ɩ/ before /r/.

Everhart also notes a variety of vocalic alterations before nasals. The high front vowel /ɩ/ is consistently represented as being lowered before the velar nasal /ŋ/ by such spellings as *blank* for *blink* (IV:32) and *fanger* for *finger* (I:47). While these spellings may suggest to some readers the low vowel /æ/ in these words, in all probability Everhart intends the spelling to suggest the mid front vowel /e/.[16] While the status of /ɛ/ before /ŋ/ is not clear, before /n/ and /m/ in the vowels /ɩ/ and /ɛ/ merge in Everhart's representation of Texas English, but the retained vowel is /ɛ/[17] instead of the more common /ɩ/. For example, Everhart writes *him* as *hem* (I:28) and *since* as *sense* (II:34), but there is only a single instance of an *e* before *m* or *n* being changed to *i*--*sinner* for *center* (III:19). By spelling *want* as *wont* (III:39), Everhart indicates that the low vowel /ɔ/ is raised to /o/ before /n/.[18] The front vowel /æ/ is apparently raised to /e/ before the /nt/ cluster,[19] for Everhart records *can't* as *kaint* (II:14), *pants* as *paints* (IV:20), and *plant* as *plaint* (III:32).

The most regular set of vowel changes suggested by Everhart involves the front vowels. Everhart's respellings show a chain-shift pattern of vowel lowering as illustrated by the following sets of words:

/i > e/[20]	*feet*	>	*fate*	(III:37)
	piece	>	*pace*	(IV:37)
	bleed	>	*blade*	(IV:16)
	fever	>	*favor*	(II:33)
	beans	>	*banes*	(II:7)
	feel	>	*fail*	(IV:8)
/ɩ > ɛ/	*bitter*	>	*better*	(IV:10)
	bliss	>	*bless*	(IV:18)
	big	>	*beg*	(I:31)
	spill	>	*spell*	(II:26)

/ɛ > æ/	wreck	>	rack	(II:19)
	head	>	had	(II:15)
	mellowed	>	mallard	(III:37)

The mid front tense /e/ does not lower, but Everhart suggests that under some conditions it "breaks" into the diphthong /ɑɩ/,[21] for he spells paint as pint (IV:33) and plate as plight (III:5). The highest front vowel in the system is mid tense /e/.

According to this interpretation of Everhart's literary dialect, of the twenty-three important features claimed for Texas English, eighteen are attested forms in the English of Anglo Texans, which have been observed by researchers. The only unvalidated items are the shortening of /ɑʊ/ before /r/, the lowering of /ɛ/ and /ʌ/ to /ɑ/ before /r/, and the lowering of /ɛ/ to /æ/ and /ɩ/ to /ɛ/. Three of these features, while not reported in any of the literature, are well-known (and well-heard) in Texas. Only the lowering of /ɛ/ and /ɩ/ are questionable, but not improbable since the lowering of /e/ and /i/ are verified. When Everhart's dictionary is compared with any of the other comic dictionaries of regional varieties of American English,[22] it is clearly in a class by itself for its linguistic accuracy. While it cannot possibly answer any questions about the sociolinguistic considerations of the language it records, Everhart's dictionary does record an impressive, accurate set of features of phonology present in a macrolect of Texas English. Not bad for a good old boy from Houston who is just trying to entertain folks and make a little money for himself and his publisher--that famous academic press, Cliff's Notes.

NOTES

1. The dictionary is cited hereafter by volume and page only.

2. On the positive side, Everhart's amateurism frees him from the prejudices and preoccupations of an academic tradition such as dialectology. Instead of being confined to a check list or worksheet or list of distinctive characteristics (see McDavid 1958:513-27), "significant features" (McDavid 1967:8-10), or "socially diagnostic variables" (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:124-76), Everhart is free to record whatever appears to be peculiar to the English used by Texans.

3. Though Ives' article was originally published in 1950, citations are to the 1970 reprinting because it was corrected and updated by the author.

4. Grapheme-phoneme correspondences known to almost all mature readers of English are conveniently summarized by such writers as Thorndike and Lorge 1944, Hall 1961, Fries 1962, Hanna _et al_. 1966, or Venezky 1970.

5. See, _e.g_., Chomsky and Halle 1968, Brengelman 1970, Kreidler 1972, or Oswalt 1973.

6. Attested in Stanley 1936:247.

7. Attested in Stanley 1936:247, Klipple 1944:33, and Nail 1948:46.

8. Attested in Klipple 1944:32.

9. Attested in Stanley 1936:146 and 154.

10. Attested in Stanley 1936:154, Klipple 1944:29, and Klipple 1945:187.

11. Attested in Klipple 1944:28, Nail 1948:41, Norman 1955:287, and Norman 1956:75.

12. Attested in Stanley 1936:33, Klipple 1944:24, Klipple 1945:188, Nail 1948:32, Norman 1955:285-86, Norman 1956:77, and Lawrence 1970:528.

13. Attested in Norman 1955:281, Norman 1956:75, Labov _et al_. 1972:I.154, and Walsh and Mote 1974:42-43.

14. Attested in Stanley 1936:12.

15. Attested in Stanley 1936:29 and Tarpley 1970:323.

16. Attested in Stanley 1936:13, Klipple 1944:17-18, Klipple 1945:186, Nail 1948:28, Wheatley and Stanley 1959:87, and Stanley 1971:98.

17. Attested in Norman 1955:274 and 276, Norman 1956:74, Wheatley and Stanley 1959:85 and 87, and Lawrence 1970:527.

18. Attested in Klipple 1944:21, Klipple 1945:187, Nail 1948:34, and Norman 1955:303.

19. Attested in Stanley 1936:19, Klipple 1944:17, Klipple 1945:187, Nail 1948:31, and Wheatley and Stanley 1959:89.

20. Attested in Stanley 1936:11 and Labov _et al_. 1972:I.146 and 154.

21. Attested in Labov _et al_. 1972:I.146 and 154.

22. _E.g_. Anon. n.d., Anon. 1966, Freeman 1961, Goodspeed n.d., Mitchell 1976, Moon n.d., and Ragway 1977.

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PANEL DISCUSSION:

VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

Garland D. Bills
University of New Mexico

We Southwesterners, with our typical narcissism, just love our diversity, all kinds of diversity. The preceding papers and comments of other panel members illustrate the great diversity of our English in the Southwest. And with respect to English, our *e pluribus unum* motto could just as appropriately be "from one, many." Our melting pot is equally a smelting pot.

Our pot contains a robust concoction of subtly but identifiably distinct Englishes. We note the variations attributable to bilingualism among Chicanos, various Native American groups, and clusters of immigrants from all parts of the globe. We note the distinctive Englishes of monolinguals of such diverse ethnic groups as Blacks, Chicanos, and Rednecks. We note the geographical varieties reflecting early settlement patterns of speakers from other parts of the U.S. as well as more recent immigration to the Sun Belt of assorted Yankees and others. We note the expanding influence of home-brewed prestige variants from California--and perhaps even from Texas on the other extreme. Our pot runneth over.

Southwest English clearly represents a multifaceted area of inquiry for the serious and sophisticated student of language. Loving (that is, accepting) our local varieties of English is surely important, but for us linguists more is required. We must learn about those Englishes and we must learn from them. The need is great. The task is awesome. But for both scientific inquiry and educational application the rewards can be equally high.

The area of practical applications is of broad concern in this particular forum, and with good reason. It is widely--and correctly--recognized that our diversity of Englishes is often an obstacle to the effectiveness of language arts teachers, speech therapists, bilingual educators, and the whole gamut of increasingly omnipresent testers and evaluators. It is widely--but erroneously--assumed that the obstacle is this plethora of Englishes, at least the nonstandard representatives. It is not widely acknowledged that the obstacle is, in fact, ignorance on the part of the facilitators of learning. The thrust of practical applications, then, must be to try to reduce this ignorance.

Communal narcissism can be an important factor in surmounting any obstacle, but love alone hardly diminishes ignorance. Knowledge is essential. It is essential to understand that a person's performance in English usually reflects the norms of that person's community. It is essential to be aware of the diverse manifestations of English in our region. It is essential to appreciate the fact that these different manifestations are equally adequate communicative devices for the learning process. In short, it is essential to know what language is and what Southwest Englishes are.

That, as today's presentations suggest, is asking an awful lot, for the factual basis for such knowledge is rather weak. We linguists face a tremendous challenge in simply documenting our diversity of Englishes. However, there is considerably more to do than just documentation. The Englishes of this region provide fantastic opportunities to gain insights into what language is, in great measure because at every turn we see language change in progress. To understand how language can and does change is to understand language itself, for the sociological, the psychological, and the strictly "linguistic" aspects of language all converge and are manifest in language change. With the English of Chicanos and Native Americans we may even be witnessing the nascent stages of new varieties of English. The exploration of the development and "fixing" of such new norms can tell us a great deal about our Englishes and about language generally.

In addition to loving, we must understand. We cannot understand our Englishes without understanding language. To seek understanding of both is our responsibility--and our opportunity. Practical applications will be improved, I think, only to the extent that we respond to our responsibility--and opportunity.

J. L. Dillard
Northwestern State University

As Brandt and McCrate confirm in their forthcoming "Multilingual Variation, or Contact Vernacular in the Southwest," Pidgin English was an important element in the formative history of English in the Southwest and West. We have traditionally associated Pidgin with ethnic groups: Chinese Pidgin English, American Indian Pidgin English, etc. My suggestion (Dillard 1972, 1975) that West African Pidgin English had a strong influence on the *lingua franca* solutions arrived at by Indians of the United States who were pushed westward and by those tribes with whom they came newly into contact is one that I am willing to stand by, but not at the expense of being absolutely mystical about the "West Africanness" of it all. It has always seemed self-evident that, if for the sake of argument we say that African slaves taught Pidgin English to the Indians in Massachusetts, Virginia, New York, and other eastern colonies and states, it does not follow that African (or Black) teachers had to go along to Arizona and New Mexico as teachers. Having learned the Pidgin, Indians themselves would have been quite competent to pass it on to other tribes, if need be.

Aside from this quibble, which seems rather too irrational to have been anticipated, there are two serious developments in contact language studies which need to be considered--although neither is especially new in the absolute sense. For one thing, recent studies show quite clearly that maritime influences were of great importance. For another, studies like those of Leap and his associates (1976) have stressed the influence of the speakers' native language(s) in bilingual contact. It is true that, in all existing varieties of Pidgin English including WAPE, considerable influence of the latter type is to be observed.

I do not believe that there is an unresolvable contradiction in these two points of view. Judging from the earliest documents, the elements which the pidginist has always considered primary were spread in the maritime trade. Stefansson (1909) called it a *ship's jargon*, as against the *shore jargon* which had undergone influence and "expansion" from bi-(or tri-, etc.)lingual contacts in the relatively fixed geographic area with which the contact variety had come to be associated. The ship's jargon (what Naro [1978] calls a "reconnaissance language") seems to provide the common morphosyntactic elements like *been V*, "transitivizer" *-um*, etc., and many lexical elements (*heap*, *savvy*, *spose* 'if', *bimeby*, etc.) of truly international distribution. The shore jargon (Schuchardt rejected--unfortunately, I think--the terms *grand Sabir* and *petit Sabir* for the shore and ship jargons, respectively) is especially exposed to influence from native language(s) and from any competing *lingua franca*, including a contact Romance ("Spanish") variety.

It is this that Dubois (1976) seems not to have understood. She criticizes, for example, Cremony's early rendering into English of the Spanish of a member of an Apachean group (stigmatizing it anachronistically as "Lone Ranger English") and theorizes that Cremony "seized upon the stereotyped way to render [Mangus's Spanish] in English." I cited the passage from Cremony in *All-American English* not because of being unaware that Cremony specified the Indian's use of Spanish but specifically because he did so identify it. In other words, the passage, like many others, documented the interaction of Pidgin English and a variety of Spanish. The citation, with malice aforethought, was intended to stir up some interest in just such relationships.

Like Bickerton (1974:51), although perhaps with a different motive, I would point out that neither Indian nor any other speakers ever conspired, "Let us produce a Pidgin language." They seized whatever communicative devices they could find, and if a word form like the attested *suka* could pass for *sugar* with English speakers and for *azucar* with Spanish speakers, the Indians had two words for the price of one. But, as Brandt and McCrate strongly confirm, when they used Pidgin English they were availing themselves of an institutionalized language variety rather than an *ad hoc* device. Most pidginists have seen no real barrier to calling it "a language" (*pace* Drechsel 1976).

On this same subject of Pidgin English-Spanish interaction, I cited (again with evil intentions) a Digger Indian's

> La misma oso Me no quiero zapato.
> (*Overland Monthly*, February, 1893).

La misma oso makes no sense, of course, in Standard Spanish; but *allee samee bear* 'just like a bear' does in Pidgin English. I suggest that either a reporter or an Indian (if it was done often enough in the West, it doesn't really matter which) used both Spanish and Pidgin English in contact situations and, at that point, utilized (even if he fictionalized the whole story) a solution involving Spanish words and Pidgin English grammar. This would be an example of what Stewart (in an unpublished paper) meant by "relexification"--and of almost exactly what Voorhoeve (1973) meant by the same term. (Incidentally, it has always seemed that the Creolists' task would be simplified greatly if they could restrict "relexification" to the Grand Sabir/ship's jargon/reconnaissance language stage and recognize that much more complex semantic redistributions come about at other stages.)

Ship's jargon may seem a bizarre term for the contact variety used in the arid states of the Southwest. The circumstances of movement, shifting populations, problems with supplies, etc., were, however, quite similar at sea and on the Western frontier. So, more importantly, were the constant problems of multilingual contact. Terms like *prairie schooner*, along with the spread from the maritime trade of words like *caboose* and *calaboose* help illustrate the analogous conditions. Folklorist Jan Harold Brunvand, with not a single thought of Pidgin in his mind, wrote an impressive article (1965) on the similarities of sailor and Western cowboy folklore.

Historian Peter Wood (1974: 311, fn. 58) proposed that the "continued predominance of 'cowboy' over alternative terms such as 'cattleman' [might] represent a . . . holdover reflective of the early and persistent [starting in the colony of South Carolina] black involvement in the American cattle trade." Wood, like many others, cites the large numbers of Black cowhands in the West; and Wood also calls attention to the similar use of *-boy* in West African Pidgin English terms like *houseboy*. Julian Mason (1960) suggested that *buckaroo* derives from the West Africanism *buckra*; and, if that's a little simplistic, so are the crudely ordered rules of Cassidy's belated rebuttal (1978).

But surely it's positing a straw man in the woodpile to say that a theory which calls attention to the very probable spread of WAPE from Black escaped slaves to the Seminoles and possible Black language influence on other Indian groups requires that Blacks spread the Pidgin to every last tribal group that acquired it. Indians surely learned AIPE from other Indians a lot of the time. Some Blacks who spoke Plantation Creole or further decreolized stages quite possibly learned Pidgin English from Indians--or from Chinese. (Speakers of the Surinam "bush" Creoles often communicate, today, in Pidgin English with Trio Indians.) Some few "minority" speakers may even have learned Pidgin from whites--although the documentary evidence is that, as in West Africa, the whites in America spoke Pidgin badly. Jay Silverheels, a genuine enough Indian by current standards who spoke a kind of Pidgin English on "The Lone Ranger," may have learned Tonto's English from any one of a number of sources. The Lone Ranger himself spoke relatively Standard English.

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Steven Owen Stout
Indian Health Service

The study of language diversity has gained wide-spread interest during the last decade. Considerable attention has been given to sociolinguistic aspects of the patterning of language diversity. Also, language diversity has been examined in relation to educational issues. The study of language diversity, however, is a comparatively recent study in the health service field and many issues remain to be addressed. Thus, we know that language diversity has important socio-eco-educational ramifications. We do not, however, know how language diversity relates to issues involved in communication disorders research and rehabilitation, i.e., otitis media (middle ear infection) and speech deviancy such as aphasia or apraxia.

The study of language diversity for American English was initiated through examination of what has been termed Vernacular Black English. Study has also included white varieties of English, Puerto Rican varieties of English in New York City and Appalachian varieties of English. Only recently, Native American varieties of English have been added to the literature. Leap (1977, ed.) is the first monograph to address some of the issues involved in the study of Native American English. This monograph focusses on English at Isleta Pueblo. Out of this monograph developed two other studies, one is my dissertation on the sociolinguistic patterning of English usage among elementary-aged children at Laguna Pueblo (Stout, 1979). The other study is a more comprehensive study by Wolfram, Christian, Leap and Potter (1979). This study involved two pueblo communities in the Southwest, Laguna and San Juan. In addition to study of the spoken variety of English, the relation of reading and writing skills to the spoken variety of English was examined.

My comments in this paper are intended to provide a foundation for discussion on theoretical issues in Native American English research and the applied implications of previous study. These two points are important to a panel on Varieties of English as well as my research on linguistic development at Zuni Pueblo for the Neuro-Sensory Disabilities Program of Indian Health Service. The Neuro-Sensory Disabilities project is designed to identify some of the socio-linguistic issues involved in language diversity among a population who have had hearing problems due to long-term bouts with otitis media.

The descriptive base of studies of American Indian varieties of English has provided an outline of the kinds of issues which need to be addressed. For example, Leap (1974: 88) in a study of the English of Isleta Pueblo, concludes that the grammatical structure of any specific sentence given in this variety will be characterized by the use of:

1) Isleta Tiwa grammatical processes
2) Grammatical processes common other alternative English varieties

3) Alternative English grammatical processes employed in contrast to standard language conventions
4) Isleta Tiwa grammatical processes employed in contrast to the standard language conventions
5) Standard English grammatical convention
(Wolfram, Christian, Leap and Potter, 1979: 1-2)

This list identifies some of the range of influences on English usage found in one American Indian community. Added to this list is the possibility of influence from contacting languages other than English: Spanish, French and Russian for the continental United States and for Hawaii, Polynesian, Chinese and Japanese. The concern of identifying the effect of contacting languages other than English has been addressed in Wolfram, Christian, Leap and Potter (1979). In the case of Isleta Pueblo, the influence of Spanish at the Pueblo is identified. Detailed information is not available on English diversity in Alaska, Hawaii and areas where tribal contact included exposure to French.

The influence identified by Leap (1974) for Isletan English can be identified in more general terms for Native American communities generally:

1) Ancestral language grammatical processes
2) Grammatical processes common to other alternative English varieties
3) Alternative English grammatical processes employed in contrast to standard language conventions
4) Ancestral language grammatical processes employed in contrast to the standard language conventions
5) Standard English grammatical conventions
6) Other contacting language grammatical processes than English, i.e., Spanish, French and Russian for the continental United States and in the case of Hawaii: Polynesian, Chinese and Japanese

What makes issues like 1-6 important is the different social histories recorded for Native American communities and the specific patterns these different kinds of influences might take for any given community. The issue that we are addressing in our project at Zuni Pueblo is the extent to which these influences pattern with hearing impairment and aspects of language usage. To examine this, we have set up one control population with second grade students who do not have a medical history of otitis media and intermittent hearing impairment in contrast to an otitis media population who has had continuing episodes of otitis media at least since the age of two.

One of the goals I think all of us here should share is a need to identify to what extent as well as what role various types of language sources play in different communities, be they Native American or other. The sociolinguistic issue which we face is to identify the reason why one variety of English may differ from another. The more purely linguistic issue requries that we address the possibility that apparent community-specific ancestral language-based influences may also be reflective of more general language characteristics found in all English communities. It is a real need therefore, to recognize a multiplicity or mosaic of conditioning of English usage rather than isolated/isomorphic causes of particular kinds of constructions. In our data we find that there are constructions that are specifically motivated by the ancestral language of the community or the specific historical tradition in the community, and it is of great importance to separate out these kind of construction features and processes from a more general sort.

Identification of generality permits development of more general programs that can work across the board. The use, of course, of community specific differences is to identify to what extent a general program needs to be adapted and reoriented for specific use in different communities. Separation of the general/specific nature of English usage is therefore a pertinent need. This identification is of particular importance to our project since we are trying to identify the specific versus general language problems associated with otitis media in Native American communities.

In closing I would like to briefly mention two projects that I see a great need for and hope to develop over the next year. One is to conduct an ethnography of hearing and speaking in numerous Native American communities. Here, my main objective is to identify ancestral linguistic and cultural codifications of expressions for communication disorders. Another is to examine situations of misunderstanding that occur between Native Americans and others. The main context will probably be the classroom where Native Americans are involved in the instruction. I welcome all discussion on the need for the identified research areas. To William L. Leap, Joe Stewart and Jamil Toubbeh, I am indebted for their wise council on the issues involved in developing such projects.

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VI

LITERACY, BILINGUALISM AND PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

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MCQUADE, JUDY (Pan-American University) FACTORS AFFECTING PERFORMANCE IN THE COMPOSITION OF BILINGUALS: In studies of writing performance by PAU students, a factor analysis does not reveal a language factor which adequately accounts for the variation in the data. Such factoring suggests that a developmental complexity approach may be more profitable than an error analysis in studies of bilingualism.

MEJIAS, HUGO A. (Pan American University) TEACHING SPANISH TO NATIVES: The student body of Pan American University constitutes a unique situation since 76% of its students are Spanish/English Bilinguals. These native speakers lack a systematic preparation in the four aspects of communication at the university level, and educational materials created for teaching Spanish to them are almost non-existent. In our analysis of the sociolinguistic characteristics of the educational reality of the area, we found that the factors that condition the Spanish of the area are, among others, normalization of forms that are considered informal in American Spanish, ignorance of the Spanish morphosyntactic system at more complex levels, influence of English structures, etc. From the pedagogical point of view, excessive use of prescriptive grammatical rules, a negative attitude toward the Spanish spoken by Mexican Americans, etc. have impeded the creation of a well founded approach. This paper deals with different methods we are working on to resolve this problem, for example: sentence combining, use of readings adapted in both theme and lexicon to southwestern Spanish, and use of a practical linguistic approach adapted to Southwest Spanish.

MONTGOMERY, J. ANNE (New Mexico State University) AN 'INDIGENOUS' METHOD FOR THE TEACHING OF NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES: A group of culturally conservative Native American language teachers have demonstrated a cultural preference in the teaching of their languages: they emphasize the acquisition of language competence before production is permitted. This approach naturalistically makes use of some of those points raised in the course of language acquisition research which are not frequently incorporated into the mainstream of traditional language teaching theory and practice in the United States. These teachers delayed student production, used unedited natural texts, placed a heavy emphasis on the lexicon (at the expense of syntactic structures), provided multiple imitation models, and, they deliberately mixed levels of student proficiency in the same class. This paper describes the circumstances of using this method in Great Lakes area language classes, and further suggests that polysynthetic languages might be taught as well, if not better, using these methods than when relying upon the traditional methodology used in the teaching of the Western European languages.

READ, JOHN (University of Texas at El Paso) TOWARDS A COMPREHENSIVE FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT: Although American Indian languages have been extensively studied by anthropological linguists in the twentieth century, the literature on Indian language maintenance and shift is sparse. It was only in the 1960s that this topic became the focus of scholarly interest, particularly in relation to bilingual education. By that time, according to Chafe's (1962) estimates, language shift was already quite advanced among the majority of Indian tribes and little had been done to document the process. However a number of recent studies, including the author's doctoral research on Crow language maintenance, have begun to provide a more adequate data base and to suggest what non-linguistic variables are significantly associated with maintenance and shift.

The purpose of this paper, then, is to lay some groundwork for a comprehensive framework to account for the varying patterns of language maintenance and language shift among American Indian tribes. The utility of Schermerhorn's (1970) framework of comparative ethnic relations is discussed, as well as theoretical contributions from the writings of Fishman, Kloss and Gaarder. The genesis of maintenance and shift is seen to be found in the historical process of contact between each tribe and English or Spanish speaking colonizing forces. Thus some consideration needs to be given to the character of early relations between the two groups, together with the effects of subsequent landmarks, like the transition to reservation life, the Second World War and the federal termination - relocation policies of the 1950s. With regard to the contemporary situation, explanations for the present patterns of maintenance and shift in Indian speech communities need to be sought in terms of variables such as the following: the degree of interaction with English speakers; the degree of institutional enclosure, or insulation, from the mainstream society; the extent to which the Indian community is cohesive and distinctively Indian; the incidence of intermarriage; attitudes towards the language and culture among members of the community; and the stability of the community's economic base. It is hoped that this discussion will demonstrate the complexity of the variables that need to be taken into account and will provide some directions for future research in the field.

SANCHEZ-SADEK, CARMEN (California State University, Los Angeles) PRINCIPLES OF TEACHING LANGUAGE FOR MAINTENANCE: Linguists have defined language maintenance in different ways. In this paper language maintenance is defined, as William F. Mackey proposes, as a variable that characterizes a particular type of school program. Specifically language maintenance refers to a specific school goal: mastery of the language the learner uses at home. Within this focus the author considers three teaching principles that facilitate attainment of this goal: repetition, transfer of learning, and meaning. The author illustrates the uses of these principles in classrooms.

SPOLSKY, BERNARD and IRVINE, PATRICIA (University of New Mexico) SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF THE ACCEPTANCE OF LITERACY IN THE VERNACULAR: Among the most debated questions in the development of language education policy for minority groups is that of the choice of language for initial literacy teaching. In this paper, we deal not with the educational question of the value of such a decision of with the political question of which variety school authorities actually choose, but with the sociolinguistic question of the acceptance of literacy in the vernacular by the community that speaks the vernacular. By a sociolinguistic analysis, and considering a number of cases, especially Native American, we attempt to show that rejection or nonacceptance of literacy in the vernacular can in fact be perceived as a method of attempting to maintain the integrity of the traditional culture.

VILLARREAL, HILDEBRANDO (California State University, Los Angeles) TEACHING SPANISH TO SPANISH SPEAKERS: The factors that determine readability include elements such as subject matter, sentence length, vocabulary and so forth. Much has been written about the various elements of readability in English but very little attention has been given to this concept in Spanish and none to the syntactic aspects. This paper represents the first attempt to examine Spanish syntax and its relationship to readability. The emphasis in the discussion is on processes that alter the order of sentences, and those that add or delete constituent elements of syntactic structures.

FACTORS AFFECTING THE COMPOSITION PERFORMANCE OF PAU STUDENTS[1]

Judy A. McQuade
Pan American University

0. This paper reports on the features of English written by freshmen at Pan American University in the Texas Lower Rio Grande Valley. The compositions analyzed were those of 155 enrollees in Freshman English at the University, these students being part of a total group of 679 who participated in an ongoing project investigating the nature and amount of bilingualism among PAU students. The linguistic-ethnic make-up of the subgroup roughly parallels that of the entire group: 76.7% Spanish-surnamed.

0.1 The composition analysis focused on the English writing problems encountered by bilingual, though not usually biliterate, students. Specifically, what kinds of sentences did the students produce and at what level of complexity? What kind of errors did they make and in what quantity? Finally, was there evidence of interference from Spanish, and if so, to what extent? To answer these questions, the papers were analyzed according to two methods: an error analysis and an index of complexity (elaboration). The error analysis noted the entire continuum of writing errors, ranging from those purely punctuational in nature, through those involving matters of conventional language and usage, to those which might be considered true dialect or language divergences from the standard language; matters of rhetoric or stylistics were not included in the analysis. The error types were not selected in advance; rather, errors were identified as they occurred in the data with the result that 73 different error variables were coded. Included in this group were spelling and punctuation errors of various types; omissions; article errors; count/non-count noun errors; agreement errors; preposition errors; errors with -ed inflections; wrong words; double negatives; third person singular -s errors; and dangling modifiers among others.

Since error analysis is essentially a negative measure, focusing on what students do incorrectly, it cannot in itself show what students do not know and consequently avoid, nor can it reveal anything about the maturity of the (correct portions of) writing. Hence, the positively oriented complexity measures were employed, attempting to account for those things the students did know and use and to measure the maturity of their prose structures. In this section were measured the number of words, sentences, and communication units (C-units or T-units); the number of to-complements subdivided by type (for-to, V to V, N to N; the number of dependent clauses, subdivided into N, ADJ, ADV types; and a few other variables bringing the total to 22. Chosen to reflect sentence structure maturity, these variables could then be compared with the work of Hunt (1965) and Loban (1976) who had earlier studied language development in monolinguals K through 12.

0.2 An analysis of the raw data showed that PAU students were less adept at subordination than would be expected of college freshmen. Compared with Loban's students, PAU freshmen subordinated less and used fewer relative (ADJ) clauses-the clause type which last develops in quantity in written discourse (Loban, 1976). Also, PAU students showed lower scores for complementation. As for error types, the majority found were punctuation and spelling errors; only a few errors suggested any Spanish language interference and even here, an equally plausible argument could be made for the influence of the local, non-standard English dialect on the writing. In general the students were making errors and writing types of sentences not expected at the freshman college level, but there was little to indicate that the Spanish language was the general cause of the situation. (See McQuade 1978 for complete disscussion.)

1.0 The current work reported on here attempted to determine whether there were any internal relationships between the variables. That is, did any of the variables cluster together, the presence of one highly associated with the presence of certain others? If so, which variables clustered and what principle could possible explain the clustering. On the other hand, which variables seemed to have no specific relationship to the other variables?

1.1 In order to answer these questions, the variable counts had to be first converted into frequencies per 100 words, since the compositions in the study varied in length. While not a final goal in itself, the number of errors per 100 words was startling in that the numbers were extremely small. (See Table I below for sample frequency counts.)

Error Type	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
Missing comma	1.160	.720	1.390
Fragment	.161	.001	.475
Missing article	.147	.001	.398
Misspellings (homophones)	.510	.004	1.075
Missing past tense -ed	.191	.001	.525
Confusion of in - on	.099	.001	.258
Vague pronoun reference	.275	.005	.521
Comma splice (1)	.187	.002	.418
Double negative (1)	.018	.001	.108
Missing possessive -s (3)	.020	.001	.138
Faulty parallelism (3)	.096	.001	.265
Wrong participle form (5)	.028	.001	.138
Wrong preposition (6)	.228	.002	.487
Wrong verb (6)	.063	.001	.193
Missing third person -s (7)	.039	.001	.272

TABLE 1

Frequencies of Errors per 100 Words

It should first be noted that the above frequency counts were based on the total corpus of 155 papers, including those of both monolinguals and bilinguals. However, since the monolinguals account for less than a quarter of the population, we can, by noting the median number of errors per 100 words, state that the figures are low for the population in general. Secondly, although not every error type has an equal chance of occurring in a set number of words, the ultimate goal is to compare monolingual with bilingual performance in each category. Eventually, the important difference is not relative difference between categories, but between students. Finally the smallness of the frequencies points out the thinness of the data on which interference arguments are sometimes based. The confusion of in and on is often noted as an example of interference from Spanish en. In this data, the number of in/on errors per 100 words averages .009, or about one error per 1,000 words. While the exact number varies from student to student, the extremely low average of in/on errors suggests that interference accounts for only a very small portion of data.[2] In general, while frequency counts were not the main point, they demonstrate the small number of errors overall and the questionableness of interference as an explanatory hypothesis.

1.2 The frequencies per 100 words having been established, a factor analysis was employed to identify variable clusterings. Briefly, a factor analysis attempts "to locate a smaller number of valid dimensions, clusters, or factors contained in a larger set of variables"; it "can help determine the degree to which a given variable or several variables are part of a common underlying phenomenon" (Nie 1975:10). A factor analysis is not a frequency ranking; rather, it lists those variables which are highly associated with the presence of certain other variables. For the study the question was whether or not there was a language factor; that is, would the in/on variable, for example, occur with other variables of a language nature, such as count/non-count noun errors? Also, if such a clustering did appear, what amount of the variation would it account for overall?

The factor analysis used was an SSPS sub-program which included an R-factor correlation matrix, a common-factor extraction of principle components, and an orthogonal varimax factor rotation (Kim, 1975). Elaboration variables and the error variables were each factored separately at first. Later, all the variables were combined in one factor analysis.

1.2.1 The factoring of the elaboration variables is summarized in Table 2 below. The first five factors, which accounted for 85.1% of the observed variation, are shown. In general, the more variation accounted for by the first five factors, the stronger the associations among variables.

Factor	Variable name	Percentage of variance accounted for
1	Non-spatial/temporal connective Total of non-finite verbs Total verb words Total dependent clauses Noun clauses	37.3
2	V *to* V complement Total *to* complements	17.2
3	C-units Sentences	13.2
4	Adverb clauses Total dependent clauses	9.5
5	N or ADJ *to* V complement Total *to* complements	7.9

Table 2

Factored Elaboration Variables

1.2.2 In general, the factoring of the error variables was much less clearcut. Since factor analysis can only accommodate 64 variables in a given analysis, the list of error variables was cut to 43, eliminating those variables which had five or fewer representations in the total corpus. The first five factors in this analysis accounted for only 51% of the total variance, as shown in Table 3 below.

Factor	Variable name	Percentage of variance accounted for
1	Missing word Double negative Missing pronoun Run-on Comma splice Wrong tense	17.6
2	Missing possessive Faulty parallelism Missing connective	10.2
3	Pronoun shift (POV) Wrong relative pronoun Wrong participle form Dangling modifier Write numbers Redundancy	8.7
4	Missing 3rd person -s Singular/plural noun	8.0
5	Wrong participle form Wrong preposition Wrong verb	6.5

Table 3

Factored Error Variables

1.2.3 The factor analysis of the combined set of 21 elaboration variables and 43 error variables showed almost the same grouping as the two previous analyses, although the factors were ordered somewhat differently. In this analysis, the first five factors accounted for 72.1% of the observed variation, with the first seven factors accounting for 84.6%. Table 4 summarizes the results, referring to factors in Tables 2 and 3.

Factor	Variables (or previous factor group)	Percentage of variation accounted for
1	All F1 elaboration variables All F1 error variables Missing connective Wrong relative pronoun	32.5
2	All F2 elaboration variables	12.7
3	F2 error	10.9
4	F3 elaboration	8.4
5	F3 error	7.6
6	F5 error	6.7
7	F4 error	5.8

Table 4

Factored Elaboration and Error Variables

2. The factor groupings provide an interesting base for further discussion and research, both in what factors and in what does not. Before proceeding further, it is important to point out that a factor analysis identifies which variables are associated in the explanation of a certain phenomenon; it cannot state what the phenomenon is nor can it explain causation. The factor analysis, however, shows relationships between variables beyond simple frequencies. In Table 1, note that the in/on variable and the faulty parallelism variable have similar mean frequencies (.099 vs. .096). Yet in the combined factor analysis, in/on does not appear at all, while faulty parallelism appears in factor 3. What this means is that in/on has no relationship to any other variable(s) in accounting for the variation in the data; however, faulty parallelism is related to other factor 3 variables (missing connective, missing possessive), together accounting for 10.9% of the variation.

2.1 As a group, the factor 1 variables in Table 4 contain the most basic measures of sentence complexity and the most common types of errors in literacy. For example, total number of verb words, total number of non-finite verbs, and total of dependent clauses all occur together in factor 1, whereas more complex poss-ing complex constructions do not appear in the first seven factors. Similarly, while noun clause appears in factor 1, the adjective clause appears in factor 6. Since we know from previous research that adjective clauses are the last to develop in terms of adult proportions (Loban 1976; McQuade 1978), the data show that more complex (or later-acquired) constructions only weakly account for the writing ability of PAU students; such data also suggest that a model of acquisitional complexity would be worth investigating. (The factor analysis provides these possibilities for other research; it cannot provide support for such interpretations in itself.)

2.2 The factors are also extremely interesting for what did not occur. There was no strong factor which should be called a foreign language factor. Errors such as run-on and double negative (1), faulty parallelism (3), and pronoun shift and wrong participle form (5) are errors which monolingual English speakers also make. Only in factor 7 which accounts for less than 6% of the variation do we find missing third person -s and singular/plural noun errors, errors which seem to be different in kind from the others and errors unlikely to be made by monolingual English native speakers.[3]

Also non-occurring at the individual variable level were such things as in/on errors, -ed past tense errors, and spelling errors. Since these errors are fairly frequent in the data (Table 1), the fact that they do not appear in the factors indicates that they are evenly spread throughout the corpus, having as much chance of occurring with one variable as with any other. In other words, the in/on variable associates as easily with comma errors as with language errors like third person -s; there is nothing in the factor groupings that identifies a sub-group of errors that could be identified as language errors to be associated with bilinguals only. The in/on error is spread thoughout the data and is an error common to the whole group, monolinguals and bilinguals.

3. In conclusion, it should be clear that a factor analysis groups variables by strength of association with each other in accounting for observed variation. Any suggestions about the nature of the underlying phenomena or about directionality or predictability are speculations which need to be confirmed by other means. What the factor groupings show about the PAU data are that more complex sentence constructions account for only a small amount variation and also that the language factor (error data) can only account for a small amount of variation. Taken together, the two types of factored data suggest that a better approach to studies of bilingualism would be via the development of more complex constructions, rather than via analysis of errors. Finally, though, other types of analyses will be needed to further extend these suggestions.

NOTES

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[2] The raw data for in/on shows less than one quarter of the students making any error at all: zero errors: 128; one error: 23; two errors: 2; three errors: 1; and ten errors: 1.

[3] Data from Black English shows that lack of third person singular -s is a dialectal difference. Such may be the case here. What is important to note is that such an "error" is the output of a rule-governed language system, as opposed to usage type errors like run-on, faulty parallelism, or wrong relative pronoun. In this sense, I use the term "language" rather broadly as opposed to "literacy."

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AN "INDIGENOUS" METHOD FOR THE TEACHING OF NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES

J. Anne Montgomery
New Mexico State University

I would like to avoid the precarious stance of formulating a pan-Indian method after observing the teaching of five of some 300 Indian language contexts. Undaunted however, I intend to go even further and suggest that the 'method' to be described here is one which could be useful in the teaching of any number of world languages. To retreat somewhat, this method is most likely to be of special value in cases where the target language is one which is to be revived or retrieved from near extinction as a living language. It might also be preferred in situations where real fluency is not likely to be achieved for political or social reasons, and where students are interested in studying the language for general cultural content and (or) a reading knowledge only.

Briefly described, this method consists of placing the native speaker in intensive contact with students who are largely encouraged to remain passive, at least in the early stages of instruction. The native speaker presents natural text material to students--oral texts are either recited from memory or read in conjunction with a transcription of those texts. By listening, discussing the material, performing only limited imitations of it, and eventually developing memorization control of the text, the student becomes a master of one discrete text after another. While there are many variations on this approach, audio-lingual drills are avoided and any premature, faulty production of language material by the student is actively discouraged.

In sociolinguistic contexts where solo attempts at language production are not a part of the typical language behavior of the student, this serious obstacle to second language acquisition is removed. Within the carefully chosen natural text is real cultural content which is highly motivating and is likely to be retained by the student for its inherent value (this is as opposed to artificial texts or dialogues carefully designed to demonstrate certain graded syntactic complexities of the target languages). The untrained or novice teacher is likely to find that working within this method is preferable to either the analytical or the pattern drill approach. This is of interest when dealing with language maintenance and language salvage situations where willing native speakers are drafted to teach without the opportunity to acquire experience or to undergo adequate training. This method, of course, is not new. It has been used for centuries in teaching the Indo-European languages as classic languages: Latin, Greek, Sanskrit.

Observation of the Method

As part of a three year language maintenance project begun in 1972, native speakers from five Great Lakes Indian tribes worked on materials development and teaching techniques at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Native speakers of Chippewa, Menominee, Oneida, Potawatomi, and Winnebago worked as language teams, each with a linguist, to transcribe texts, to prepare dictionaries and language teaching texts so that

English speaking Indian students could be taught their native ancestral languages. They were provided with teaching materials in the commonly used formats for the teaching of non-Indian languages: audio-lingual drill guides, artificial, graded texts, and visual aids suitable for the elementary level students who were to be the first group of students. The teachers were taught to use various teaching methods, which they practiced in the classroom. They were provided with instructor's guides, lesson plans, and materials designed specifically for each language.

When observed teaching in the classroom, the native speaker teachers were found to have largely abandoned the lesson materials, or at the very least, they had systematically modified them in a way which was surprisingly consistent across the five language groups. Their collective approach was solid enough to be described as an emerging pedagogical method. It should be noted that these were teachers between the ages of 40 and 65 who had been chosen as competent native speakers and potentially successful teachers by their respective tribes. They appeared to be as a whole a culturally conservative group with regard to religion, music and the oral tradition of language.

The conservative classroom teacher allowed students to sit anywhere they wished. They combined classes whenever possible, mixing ages and levels of competence. They talked in and about the respective target languages. Except for brief and infrequent invitations to repeat significant words, phrases, and names, students were discouraged from speaking. Much the same oral material was presented each day during 30 minute lessons held after the regular school day. Some use was made of the visual materials developed to accompany the format lessons. Frequently the teachers brought personal articles to class which related in some way to the textual material. After several lessons, students were repeating words and phrases along with the speakers, involuntarily, almost unconsciously; on occasion they were rewarded with invitations to speak the word or phrase. Students were immediately stopped in the course of faulty production, and this without being told anything of the nature of the error. The content of the texts was either a traditional tale, or a description of a process for the preparation of artifacts--traditional ways of tanning leather, making a drum, building a home. The students seemed quietly interested and attended regularly and voluntarily. Student ages ranged from 6 to 15.

The situation just described is one of the conservative teachers' adaptation to the structured public school classroom situation. In contrast to this is a language class established by native speakers and students in the rural home community environment. There are significant parallels between the two.

In Oneida, Wisconsin, a small rural community located in the north of the state, near Green Bay, three elder native speakers, a volunteer student class manager, and students rangiang in age from 3 years to 60, gathered weekly, either in a Sunday school classroom or a community center building to study the Oneida language. Age groups, proficiency levels, and instructors could easily have been segregated, but they were not. The student manager elicited forms from the Oneida speakers--words, phrases, and infrequently sentence length utterances. These were repeated by students at random throughout the room, written on the blackboard by the class manager, and in notebooks by students. The older students seldom wrote; younger girls, those who were attending the public schools, kept the most extensive notebooks and became class recorders in a sense. If analogous forms had been mentioned previously, this was noted by the class manager. The elicitations generally ran along a content area theme--cooking for a feast, hunting, or naming of the flora and fauna of the region. The speakers further volunteered material, either as it related to the subject, or to a text under discussion. When speakers disagreed on a word, as happened fairly frequently, they examined the word in the context in which it occurred. Generally they attributed differences to area dialects, i.e., "the people from over there say it that way, while I call it like this."

The class manager engineered something of a review during each session by recalling selected forms from previous lessons. If however, a form previously studied was accidentally elicited as new, the native speakers were quick to point out that the students had forgotten. This sent the students sheepishly to their notes. If the form could not be found (or couldn't be accurately read from the notes, as was occasionally the case) the speakers might or might not provide a repetition. The orthography tended to be English based with reference to a writing system taught in an Oneida langauge class at a nearby university.

The discipline of the class consisted only of attention to, and respect for, the native speakers; students could come and go at will, and they did so. During the two to three hour sessions, toddlers played quietly at the feet of the adults. These adults reported with amazement that these children repeated words and phrases from the class at home, frequently in play monologues. On occasion during the class session a child would spontaneously imitate the form under discussion to the great pleasure of all participants.

In summary then, the method can be characterized as one built primarily on the concept that untested competence precedes performance. Use may be made of team teaching, in that more than one native speaker is present in the class and active as a production model. Mixed levels of student proficiency are maintained and encouraged in the classes. Progress is self-pacing, both for the individual and for the class as a whole. Content is recursive in that it is repetitious. Oral and written, largely unedited native texts are the sole source of language material. Emphasis is placed on acquisition of the lexicon of the target language at the expense of acquisition of specifically isolated syntactic structures.

This approach is especially useful in two instances--1) where it parallels the teaching and learning patterns of the acquisition of other cultural skills, and 2) where the traditional language teaching methodology will result in forcing students to perform counter to the cultural behavioral codes of their own ethnic groups. For example, an Indian teacher suggested that this method of language teaching is analagous to that used to teach Indian youngsters drumming. Student learners sit on the fringes of a drum performance group, perhaps for months, watching and listening. Eventually the student will progress into the circle of performers seated around the drum, and be allowed to accompany the singing and playing by tapping lightly with small sticks on the rim of the drum. When judged competent, the student will be given real drum sticks and results in the acquisition of language. The serious acquisition of a second language is a complex emotional cultural, and intellectual experience. The need for learning, the motivation for learning, indeed the capacity to learn a language is not going to be consistent across a given class of learners. The methodologies ought to be encouraged which aim at the highest common denominator of language behavior--meaning, curiosity, the acts of telling and of hearing stories--rather than at one of the lowest--physical mimicry, and or syntax devoid of language content.

PRINCIPLES OF TEACHING LANGUAGE FOR MAINTENANCE

Carmen Sánchez-Sadek
California State University, Los Angeles

Language maintenance has been defined in different ways by researchers and linguists. Hofman and Fisherman (1971) use the term language maintenance to refer to the use of languages other than Hebrew by second and third generation Israelis. In their study they found that the mother tongues of immigrant Jewish settlers was "maintained" by the immigrants' descendants only for specific social interactions such as conversations with relatives and close friends of the same language background. Hebrew, referred to by the authors as a "revived" language, is the language of instruction, government, and the news media, and--given their findings--the authors predict that the languages of the immigrants will eventually disappear from the region.

André Tabouret-Keller (1964) also uses the term "language maintenance" to refer to the use of specific languages or dialects in regions where another language or languages predominate. Keller studied language maintenance in southern France--where standard French predominates over the spoken forms of the various Occitan dialects (langues d'Oc), and language maintenance in north-eastern France--where the Alsatian (High German) dialect remains dominant for all spoken uses. The author discusses in his study the sociological factors that influence language maintenance and language shift in oral production.

William F. Mackey (1970) defines "language maintenance" as a variable that characterizes a particular type of school or school program:

> The object of the bilingual school may be to maintain both languages (of the students) at an equal level. This is often the pattern when both are languages of wider communication or are subject to legal provisions in the constitution which oblige schools to put both languages on an equal footing. (p. 600)

Maintenance may be achieved, according to Mackey, by differentiation or by equalization. Differentiation refers to "maintaining two languages for different (school) purposes." For example, in some bilingual schools certain subjects such as art, history, literature, and geography are taught in the dominant home language of the students. All other subjects are taught in the other language, usually the language of the country or region. Equalization, on the other hand, is defined by Mackey as giving an equal chance to both languages of the students in all subject matter domains. In this case the languages are alternated. For example, one language is used during the morning session and the other language is used during the afternoon session to review the same subject matter. In other schools the languages are alternated every day, week, or month.

Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary (1965) defines "maintain" as:

1. to keep or keep up; to continue in or with; to carry on. (p. 1087)

In a sense "to maintain" is synonymous with "to preserve" but, in reference to languages, maintenance is quite different from preservation. Language maintenance, in my view, is a dynamic process of development and change, and, at the same time, a stable process that insures constancy. There is only constancy in preservation; development and change are kept to a minimum. Latin, for example, is a language being preserved.

In the context of this article "language maintenance" refers to a specific school goal: mastery of the language the learners use at home. Language maintenance is also defined here as a dynamic process: mastery of a language implies knowledge of and about the language enabling the learners

(a) to enlarge their vocabulary by recognizing linguistic and contextual cues that guide them to discover the meanings of new words;

(b) to express themselves in a variety of ways;

(c) to form new words and to express new meanings;

(d) to read and write with ease;

(e) to communicate culturally-relevant messages through non-verbal means; and

(f) to react in a culturally acceptable manner to diverse language and social interactions.

For the purpose of this article Spanish will be considered the home language and English the language used at school and in the social milieu of the school.

Defining language maintenance as a school goal allows us to describe the principles of teaching that promote the attainment of this goal. Moreover, defining language maintenance as a dynamic process gives emphasis to the actual content of instruction: teaching language for maintenance means teaching the processes that lead to language growth, even after the learners leave school.

Language maintenance is here conceptualized as a basic process of language development that should have a place within the bilingual classroom whether this class is part of a "maintenance" or a "transitional" bilingual program.[1]

The distinction between transitional--or transfer--and maintenance bilingual programs has to do with the amount of time that the learner spends learning in the home language or in English. In transfer programs a child may start all his instruction in his/her home language and gradually end up taking all school instruction in the language of the school. The transfer from home to school language may be gradual or abrupt, regular or irregular (Mackey, 1970). In maintenance programs, as previously stated, both the home language and the school language are on an equal footing. After starting all instruction in the home language the learner ends up taking instruction in either language on certain subjects, or in both languages in all subject matters, alternating days, weeks, months, etc. While the learner is receiving instruction in the home language, however, language maintenance should be the overriding goal.

Several principles of teaching language for maintenance can now be introduced. Some of these principles also apply to the teaching of a foreign or a second language but their use in teaching language for maintenance is somewhat different. The principles we will consider are Repetition, Transfer of Learning, and Meaning.

Repetition can be defined as verbalizing through precise muscular movements what someone else has said as a model. In second language teaching repetition is important because learners need to be provided with models of sounds, words, and phrases they have never heard or said before. For the learner of a second language repetition involves mostly motor activity.

For a learner achieving language maintenance repetition involves comprehension as well as extension. An example will help clarify these ideas. Let us assume that the teacher is teaching geographical terminology, for example, terms such as bahía, meseta, cataratas, etc. The teacher can provide many needed opportunities for repeating these terms--and thus help enlarge the learner's vocabulary and improve retention of these terms--by providing several types of activities that require identical responses. The teacher can:

1. Model the words
   Teacher: ...bahía....meseta.....cataratas....
   Students: .....bahía.....meseta.....cataratas...

2. Snow a picture and ask a yes/no question
   Teacher: (shows picture of bahía)
   ¿Es una bahía?
   Student: Sí, es una bahía.

3. Show a picture and ask a question with alternatives
   Teacher: (shows picture of bahía)
   ¿Es una catarata o una bahía?
   Student: Es una bahía.

4. Show picture or give a definition, and ask an identification question
   Teacher: (shows picture of bahía)
   ¿Qué es?
   Student: Es una bahía.

By providing progressively more difficult questions, that is, questions at higher levels of abstraction, the teacher can elicit the same response from the students and thus provide for repetition. But this type of repetition requires comprehension of the question and, with each repetition, the comprehension of the term is extended: the first type of activity only requires recognition of the sounds and the sequence of sounds; the second requires association of the word with the object it labels; the third requires recognition, comprehension, and discrimination; and the fourth requires recognition, comprehension, discrimination and labeling.[2] These types of activities also demand sustained concentration efforts on the part of the students. Each question is more difficult than the one before and in a sense, different from the previous question, too. Each question is a new stimulus.

The principle of repetition as illustrated here also applies to reading stories aloud for children. In many cases the teacher reads and rereads a story for the learners in the class. The teacher is providing repetition to develop listening comprehension skills, vocabulary, and sequential recall. Learners, on the other hand, find the repetition of the same story a very boring experience. The teacher can provide much needed repetition by:

1. Telling the story for the first time in a very simplified form
   Teacher: Este animalito chiquito estaba jugando y por no prestar atención, este animal grande le dio un gran susto.

2. Telling the story with labels
   Teacher: Este animalito chiquito, un conejillo de India, estaba jugando y, por no prestar atención, este animal grande, un hipopótamo, le dio un gran susto.

3. Telling the story with descriptions
   Teacher: Un conejillo de India, de piel color canela, ojos grandes y negros como piedras preciosas.....

4. Telling the story in great detail, reading it as written in the book.

5. Telling the story through questions that elicit the main ideas, the labels, the descriptions and/or the details. Students tell the story by answering questions.

Providing for repetition as illustrated above commands the students' attention every time since new information is added to what the students already know. This type of practice, although illustrated here for the primary grades, can be used in upper elementary grades and through secondary school.

Repetition can also be provided through transformations. For example, the teacher may read a story as a means of promoting vocabulary development and practice of syntactic patterns. The first time the teacher reads the story he/she may:

1. Tell the story as it is written. Then,

2. Tell the story using synonyms of the key words.

3. Tell the story using "if clauses."

4. Tell the story using negative words and antonyms.

Applying the principle of repetition in this fashion increases the students' motivation to learn because they experience success each time--the first repetitions are presented at an easier level while the difficulty of the material increases gradually with each successive repetition. Repetition also promotes retention--each repetition reviews something already learned but presents something new. The new learning is associated with the old learning and effective retention is the result. Finally, repetition reinforces what has been learned.

Transfer of learning refers to the process by which what is already learned facilitates learning new material. The principle of transfer of learning has many applications in teaching language for maintenance. For example, if the learner knows the word tierra and the word terreno, mastery of derived words based on the stem -terr- should be facilitated by positive transfer. Thus the learner can be introduced to words such as terraza, terremoto, terracota, territorio, territorial, terrateniente, Terranova, enterrar, desenterrar, etc. Great economy of time and effort can be obtained once the learner understands how words are derived from stems. Hundreds of derived words can be learned as the result of positive transfer.

Transfer of learning is also important in remembering the meanings of new words or new meanings for words already known. For example, learning new words such as oboe, gamarra, díptero, cisterna is difficult, but learning

violín, piano, trompeta, oboe

arreos, montura, riendas, gamarra

mosca, mosquito, abeja, díptero

is much easier because positive transfer facilitates mastery of new words when they are learned along with other words from the same set, that is, other words that belong to the same semantic category.[3]

Transfer of learning is also important for teaching English/Spanish cognates and similar syntactic patterns. Words such as general, chocolate, and violín can only be correctly read if the reader knows in which language they are written. El segundo mes es febrero and "The second month is February" can easily be learned due to positive transfer resulting from similar language patterns and cognates.

Transfer of learning is a very important teaching tool that needs to be applied more often in teaching language for maintenance.

Meaning is the last principle to be discussed. One understands the meaning of a word because one can form a mental image of an object, situation, or concept expressed by the word. On many occassions, however, the words used in the home and those used by the teacher to teach subject matter are quite different. At home one does not usually talk about los planetas or los grupos de números; about el dividendo or el sustraendo; conjunciones o preposiciones; about pledging allegiance or la lealtad. The teacher must make an effort to illustrate the meaning of words through pictures, situations, gestures, or simulation. The teacher must also encourage the students to seek out the objects they are lerning to name, or imagine situations that define a concept, or to act out an emotion so it can be labeled.

At a higher level of abstraction meaning refers to the understanding of relationships, standards, similarities, and differences. Again the teacher must strive to present these abstract concepts in a concrete fashion. For example, family relationships are difficult to understand. Who is a cousin or a nuera, yerno, compadre, etc? A tangible meaning may be given to these relationships by providing a model family in the class in which each learner plays a part.

The meaning of a word can also be derived from the context in which the word appears, and from the linguistic cues contained in the word itself or in the context. Aconite may mean nothing for most readers until the word is read in context:

> This aconite is poisonous. Don't touch its leaves and
> don't pick its flowers!

Teaching students to derive the meaning of words from the context and from its linguistic features is a very important step in teaching language for maintenance.[4]

Repetition, Transfer of Learning,[5] and Meaning are principles of teaching that promote language maintenance as defined in this article. These principles need to be extensively used in bilingual classrooms to equip students with the types of knowledge and understanding they need to continue to develop their home language even after they leave school.

NOTES

1. The author discusses the decision-making process in curriculum planning that leads to transitional or maintenance programs in "Spanish Language Teaching in Bilingual Programs: Maintenance vs Transitional." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Mexican American Educators, October, 1978.

2. Benjamin Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* provides a handy guide to the levels of difficulty of questions and objectives.

3. A discussion of semantic sets can be found in William E. Bull's book *Spanish for Teachers*.

4. Wilga Rivers discusses the meanings of words in *The Psychologist and the Foreign Language Teacher*.

5. May V. Seagoe discusses Transfer of Learning and presents many valuable classroom applications of this principle in *The Learning Process and School Practice*.

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF THE ACCEPTANCE OF LITERACY IN THE VERNACULAR

Bernard Spolsky and Patricia Irvine
University of New Mexico

Among the most debated questions in the development of language education policy for minorities is that of the choice of language for initial literacy teaching. Traditional colonial policies in Africa, for example, followed one of two approaches: the French and Portuguese assumed that literacy was a basic step in civilization and that it could only be usefully achieved in the standard metropolitan language. The British, Belgians, and Germans, on the other hand, accepted the desirability of initial literacy in the vernacular with literacy in the standard metropolitan language being taught much later in the system to a much smaller number of pupils.

In the twentieth century, the view that initial reading teaching should take place in the vernacular has been widely held, with support in international organizations (the UNESCO experts, for example), international missionary groups such as Summer Institute for Linguistics, and national language policies, including the U.S. Bilingual Education Act and Soviet policy. With all this, there is still no conclusive evidence, as Engle (1975) has shown, that there is a clear advantage in initial literacy being taught in the vernacular rather than the standard language.

This paper focuses not so much on the question of initial literacy but on a related question which concerns the acceptance of literacy in the vernacular by the vernacular speaking community. We argue that rejection, or non-acceptance of literacy in the vernacular or native language can in fact be perceived as a method of attempting to maintain the integrity of a traditional culture. In addition, we will suggest some questions which appear to be fundamental to a sociolinguistics of literacy.

Two cases of the acceptance of vernacular literacy in the 19th Century are particularly striking. First, in New Zealand, literacy among the Maori people started with missionary contact in 1820. By 1870, most Maoris were reported to be literate in their own language, and a book was written to teach them English literacy through Maori. By 1900, more items written in Maori had been published in New Zealand than in English. Another example of rapid acceptance of vernacular literacy is that of the Cherokee, a special case among American Indians. In 1821, Sequoyah, a Cherokee, developed a syllabary which was accepted and immediately implemented. Within a decade, 90% of the western Cherokee were literate in their own language. (White, 1962; Walker, 1969)

In other cases, acceptance of literacy in the vernacular has been minimal. Orthographies have been developed for various Micronesian languages, for example, and some materials have been printed, but on the whole, literacy is restricted to some churchgoers and a few pilot bilingual programs. In the case of the pueblo communities of the southwest, until very recently there was actual opposition by speakers to the development of literacy in their native language, but acceptance of literacy in English.

The case of only minimal acceptance of native language literacy which we have had most opportunity to learn about is that of the Navajo. Although literacy in the Navajo language was introduced in the early 1900's and a standard orthography accepted in 1937, there has been no "rush to literacy" among the Navajos (Young, 1977). At the moment Navajo literacy is limited to those who have learned it through contact with missionaries, and some teachers and students at the three or four schools with active bilingual programs. We do not point this out to denigrate the success of these programs, but rather to focus on the contrasting general lack of acceptance by the Navajo population. Such literacy as exists is likely to be in English. In fact, anyone literate in Navajo is probably also literate in English.

Why is it, then, that some people enthusiastically accept, and use, vernacular literacy while others seem to be indifferent or actually oppose it? The opposition, it turns out, does not necessarily extend to literacy in the standard language. In fact, in most cases standard literacy appears to be desirable and considered appropriate.

In the Navajo situation, Navajo is spoken not just in the homes in the community, but is appropriate for contact with bureaucracy (which provides interpreters when necessary) for legal proceedings, for governmental activities at the chapter and Tribal level, and for radio. On the other hand, English is used for reading and writing in almost all situations: all forms and reports filled out in BIA and Tribal government offices are in English, records of law cases are kept in English, minutes of chapter house meetings and Tribal Council are written in English. The Tribal newspaper is in English, as is the script used by Navajo radio announcers (Spolsky, 1971). Essentially, then, the situation can be characterized as a special kind of diglossia: Navajo is the preferred and appropriate language for oral use, and English the almost exclusive language for written use.

It becomes clear, especially when looking at the Navajo case, that literacy is more than just a technical skill that can be considered independently of a social context. Among the Navajo, oral and written language varieties serve distinctly different social functions. As a preliminary step to understanding why vernacular literacy is not acceptable to some groups, we have to discover how the written use of language functions in society.

What happens when vernacular literacy is added to the linguistic repertoire of a community? Using Fishman's (1971) concept of sociolinguistic domain, which he defines as a function of the intersection of setting, topic and participants, we offer two related observations to support our view that nonacceptance of vernacular literacy may be an attempt to maintain the integrity of a traditional culture.

First, literacy in the vernacular seems most likely to be accepted when there already exists a domain or domains in which it is perceived as being useful by members of the vernacular speaking community. Among both the Cherokee and the Maori, our paradigm cases of acceptance, literacy functioned in domains that existed prior to the introduction of writing. In traditional Maori schools, learning involved the memorization of a large body of traditional lore. Best (1923) reports the reactions of the teachers in the late Nineteenth Century when for the first time their students wrote down the material rather than memorizing it: they performed over the books the same ceremony that they previously had performed over a learner who had committed the material to memory. Cherokee shamans also wrote down, in their new orthography, various formulae for performing sacred rituals and magic. Recognizing the dangers of having committed their knowledge to paper, they are reported to have mislabeled the pages, giving misleading headings to the information. Both of these are cases where a preliterate society rapidly accepted literacy, and where it found use in a traditional domain. Moreover, these examples are instructive in showing some of the tensions which arise when traditional domains come in contact with modernizing influences such as writing.

A second, related observation is that literacy in the vernacular is most likely to be accepted in domains or for communicative functions that are perceived as congruent with the traditional social and cultural pattern of a group. To put this another way, when the introduction of literacy is associated with a second language, an alien culture and modern, technological functions, literacy in these new domains is preferred in the alien, second, or standard language.

As the Navajo case provides the most poignant illustration of this, it is necessary to briefly recount the circumstances under which literacy was introduced. We can group Navajo literacy efforts into three major periods:

1) The earliest period is associated with Catholic and Protestant missionaries, linguists, and ethnologists, all who developed different orthographies. The Protestant missionaries translated portions of the Bible, and were the only ones in this group to attempt teaching literacy to the general population. Their motive was to spread christianity.

2) In the 1930's, BIA policy was to teach Navajo literacy to children and adults. A standard orthography was developed and accepted and in 1943 a Navajo newspaper began publication. According to Kluckhorn and Leighton, a major factor in the government's support of vernacular literacy at this time was the need to disseminate information about policies such as livestock reduction, and to involve Navajos in the war effort. After the war, Navajos who had worked off the Reservation or been in the service found that their lack of English placed them at a disadvantage, and demanded better English programs. The government policy was one of assimilation, relocation training programs focused on English, and Navajo literacy efforts were dropped (Young, 1977).

3) Current efforts at teaching Navajo literacy are associated with

> bilingual programs, and the move towards community controlled schools. Vernacular literacy has been seen as a transitional step to learning English more easily.

In short, the functions of literacy among the Navajo have been directly linked to religious beliefs alien to their culture, information about colonial government policies such as stock reduction and relocation, and now with transitional bilingual programs.

Dr. Robert Young (1977), in writing about the history of Navajo literacy, sums up what seems to be the current attitude of Navajos towards vernacular literacy when he writes:

> "The idea of writing had been introduced to the Navajo with the English language at a period when the institutions of Navajo culture, including the Navajo language, were held in low esteem. Consequently, many people looked upon English as the proper language in which to write... ." (p.469)

In recent history, literacy has most often been introduced to preliterate societies through religious missionaries, the activities of a colonizing government, or the technological changes that lead to increased contact with a literate group. The result is a major pressure towards literacy in a second language and for the modern purposes of the colonizing group. In this situation it is not surprising to find that the question of which language to use for literacy involved at the very center of some of the basic tensions facing any traditional society brought in contact with modernization. There appear to be two equally difficult courses to follow. A group can resist the pressure towards cultural innovation, as many traditional Navajos have done; those who choose to modernize can do so by learning English and carrying out in English the functions associated with modernization, including reading and writing. Or, a group can integrate the alien functions associated with a second language into the traditional culture, as the Maori did. Their conversion to christianity was rapid, and acceptance of other cultural and economic notions from the Victorian missionaries was inevitable, and also happened quickly. With the wholesale acceptance of the new values, it was reasonable to continue to express the new values in the traditional language and thus to develop an extensive literacy in the vernacular. This comparatively rapid assimilation, however, lessened the ability of the Maori people to resist the next stage when, after 1870, all the schools started insisting on English rather than on Maori. Within fifty years, the force of Maori literacy had been weakened and within a hundred years, very few children were still growing up speaking Maori. In this analysis, then, acceptance of literacy in the vernacular can be seen as a greater readiness to accept assimilation to the majority culture: as a possible first step to submersion.

In presenting this argument, we are building on Charles Voegelin's suggestion that word borrowing may be seen as a method of maintaining the purity of traditional language and culture. When speakers of a language come across or are presented with a new object, they have many choices in how to name it. One choice is to extend the meaning of a native word to cover it: thus, the Hopi might choose to use a traditional word for tunic to refer to the kind of shirt that you buy in a store.

Voegelin argued, however, that by choosing instead to use the English loan word to refer to the new item, they kept the native word to be used in its purity for the native object. From this point of view, code switching, word borrowing, and acceptance of literacy in the standard language rather than the vernacular might all be seen as ways in which the speakers of a language attempt to maintain the integrity of their own culture.

Complicating this factor is another pressure: the symbolic value that defenders of a language give to its development into a standard language. To the Navajo nationalists who are committed to preventing the loss of their language and culture in the face of the pervasive influence of English, literacy in Navajo is crucial as a symbol of positive cultural identity. A major tension is therefore set up between traditional resistance on the one hand and nationalist fervor on the other; the paradox would appear to be that both groups have the same reason in support of their opposing policies.

Any resolution of this paradox is going to require a more thorough analysis of how literacy functions in a community than is available at present. What is needed is a sociolinguistic approach which would at the very least involve such dimensions as Fishman's concept of domain, language choice as well as language variety (style, register, and degree of formality) and choice of oral or written channel. Field observations might comprise the first step in developing a model. The uses, or functions of writing would be described in a number of settings, such as home, church, community center, and work sites. In each, it would be observed whether writing is used and if so, how much and in which language, as well as 1) the topics handled by writing, and 2) the participants in each written communicative act - writer and reader.

Observations of the functions of literacy in a bilingual school setting, for example, might focus on the differential use of the vernacular and the standard language. A subsequent comparison of the functions of literacy which are valued in the community with those valued in the school setting would be of practical value for language education policy makers.

Not only would a mapping of the functions in any community serve their particular needs, but we expect that descriptive maps could be compared in order to see if any larger sociolinguistic patterns are clearly involved in the adoption or rejection of literacy. By asking the following questions, it might be possible to identify principal factors that need to be taken into account in planning for a vernacular literacy:

1) Under what circumstances do certain groups of people accept literacy in the vernacular? What conditions prompt groups to move towards literacy in the standard language? What are the tensions that arise in each of the decisions?

2) Was literacy in either the vernacular or the standard generated from within the group or was it introduced from the outside? For what purposes, and with what consequences?

3) What are the functions of literacy in the community? Who writes, who reads, about what topics, in what settings? Which language is used?

If more than one, is there a diglossic or functional differentiation of language?

4) To what extent are the functions associated with literacy indigenous to the culture and to what extent do they derive from technological and social change associated with contact? To what extent has change occurred over time?

5) To what extent are school-related literacy programs, including teaching practices, curriculum and materials developed or planned on the basis of knowledge of the sociolinguistic situation in the community? What functions of language do the schools appear to value? Are they the ones that the community also values?

In this paper, we have tried to relate the sociolinguistic concept of domain to the functions of literacy in a community in order to support our view that the Navajo people may be maintaining the integrity of their traditional culture by not accepting literacy in their own language. We have furthermore attempted to show the need for a sociolinguistic approach to looking at the complex functions of literacy in any society, and have suggested a number of questions to guide research and model-making in this area. It now seems clear that an issue such as whether or not to teach initial literacy in the vernacular, which was raised at the beginning of this paper, cannot be answered simply "yes" or "no", but rather "it depends". A sociolinguistic analysis is needed to make these conditions explicit. We look forward to the development of a model which will allow us to make better informed language education policy decisions.

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READABILITY AND SPANISH SYNTAX

Hildebrando Villarreal
California State University, Los Angeles

Sometimes it is believed that reading will develop naturally and automatically if students are exposed to reading materials. The fact that students entering SNS classes (Spanish for native speakers) may be fluent in the oral use of language does not in itself insure that they will recognize and control those same structures in their written form. In order for students to understand what they read they must be familiar with the written structures through which information and concepts are communicated. Too often it has been the case that students are disillusioned with classes because the level of difficulty is not commensurate with their experience. The same is true of the reading material that students are expected to handle, especially if they have had minimal experience with written language, Spanish in this case. The reading experience of students entering SNS classes for the first time varies considerably. In helping each one acquire good reading skills or improve those already possessed, the instructor must have an understanding of the processes underlying the acquisition of good reading skills and of the sequential aspects of the reading phenomenon.

In order to have effective reading programs for SNS classes we must acknowledge the fact that the reading process is developmental in nature and that we must select reading materials accordingly. This procedure must rely on more than an expanded glossary, teacher intuition, or vocabulary and sentence length.

The factors that determine readability, which is the degree of ease or difficulty with which written material is read and understood, include elements such as subject matter, interest level, genre, vocabulary, sentence length, syntax, and so forth. While much has been written about these features of the English language very little attention has been given to readability in Spanish and none to the syntactic aspects. Two known studies "A Spanish Readability Formula"[1] by Seth Spaulding and *Como escribir para ser entendido*[2] by Frank Patterson focus primarily on the lexical aspect of readability. Spaulding uses vocabulary as the fundamental element to measure readability by determining (a) the number of "hard" words (i.e., those consisting of three or more syllables), and (b) sentence length. The assumption is that short words and sentences make reading easy. Patterson also developes a readability formula and makes comments such as "... la construcción gramatical debe ser sencilla, las oraciones que tengan cláusulas dependientes o adjectivos y adverbios innecesarios se deben simplificar..."[3] indicating that he is aware of the necessity to consider other syntactic factors in order to measure sentence complexity more accurately.

The shortcomings of using only word and sentence length to determine sentence complexity can be made apparent with some examples.

1. Fui al baile.   2. Hablé con los amigos.

3. Fui al baile y hablé con los amigos.

Using a word count technique one would expect sentence three to be twice as complex but this is not the case. By the same token the second sentence in the following pair might be considered less complex than the first because of its length.

4. Se cayó la muchacha que estaba corriendo detrás del perro.

5. Se cayó la muchacha corriendo detrás del perro.

Rules that delete part of a structure as in the case of sentence five often remove information that the unsophisticated reader needs in order to comprehend the meaning of a sentence. Thus, if sentence length alone is used to determine complexity it fails to account for other significant factors that affect readability.

The preceding examples illustrate the importance of using other syntactic features, in addition to word and sentence length, to measure the readability of Spanish prose. The remarks that follow are not based on empirically derived data. They are the result of personal observations of difficulties encountered by SNS students learning to read, comments made by colleagues, personal experience both as a speaker and teacher of Spanish, and the work done on readability in English, especially that of Botel, Dawkins, and Granowsky.[4] The observations and assumptions made here represent only the beginning of a recent concern for readability in Spanish and are not to be construed as the final statement on the subject.

The analysis begins from the assumption that there are a limited number of simple sentence patterns from which others may be derived. This list is not definitive and other patterns may be added depending on the criteria used to determine the sentence patterns.

A. NP + VP -ser + NP
                 Adj
                 Adv

Juan es médico.
Juan es alto.
Juan es muy alto.

B. NP + VP -estar + Adv

Juan está (muy) enfermo.

C. NP + VP

Juan sueña.

D. NP + VP + NP

Los alumnos estudian la lección.

E. NP + VP + NP + para + NP
a

Construye una casa para su cliente.

F. NP + VP + NP:Comp + a + NP

Ellos lo eligieron presidente.

These active declarative statements may then be altered by any number of rules that rearrange, delete, substitute, or add other elements. The processes, except for tense and mode which will also be discussed, are categorized according to the kind of change they perform on the sentence structure (e.g., change the order, add, or delete a constituent part, and so forth). Emphasis is on describing its effect on the complexity of the Spanish syntactic structures.

Tense and Mode

The morphology of tense and mode is not difficult to learn or understand. The complexity of tense is dependent on three factors. First, the present tense forms (indicative and subjunctive) seem to be the most frequently used forms. Whenever other tense forms are used, especially in writing, the reader may take longer to register the meaning and function of those forms. Second, the addition of a helping verb to the verb phrase (e.g., estoy comiendo, he comido, he estado comiendo...) increases the difficulty due either to the semantics of the verb phrase or to the frequency of their use. Related to this is the lack of understanding that tense is really a relative system that serves to establish a relationship between two events. The third factor that affects comprehension of tense and mode is their function. Tense and mode like many other linguistic categories may have more than one use. When they are utilized with their primary meaning they are readily understood by most readers. Consider the use of the future tense in the next examples:

6. Estará aquí la semana próxima.

There is logical agreement between the morpheme "r" of "estará" and the adverb "la semana próxima" both meaning futurity. However, when tense is used in a secondary (nonsystemic) meaning this use may be more difficult for an inexperienced reader to comprehend.

7. Estará aquí en este momento?

The conflict between the morpheme "r" expressing futurity and the adverb "en este momento" expressing present moment may complicate the interpretation of the statement for the reader. The same can be said for the use of mode. Past subjunctive forms are normally used with past forms in sentences.

8. Le dijeron que tuviera paciencia.

There is tense agreement between "dijeron" and "tuviera" and complexity is not increased. When the past subjunctive is used in a secondary (non-systemic) function (e.g., contrary to fact) sentence complexity increases.

9. Habla como si tuviera miedo.

The conflict between "habla," a present form, and "tuviera," a past form, may affect the complexity of the structure.

These examples seem to indicate that sentence complexity is the product of (a) the frequency with which a tense form is used, (b) the structure of the verb phrase, simple or complex, and (c) the meaning, primary or secondary, of those forms.

Order

Spanish word order varies from a very strict adherence to a prescribed order fixed through established conventions (e.g., determiner + noun phrase; auxiliary + main verb, etc...) to a relatively free order (e.g., Me lo va a comprar:Va a comprármelo). Word order is not arbitrary in Spanish but certain patterns are used more frequently than others, and consequently, may be anticipated by the reader. When there is a departure from the anticipated order the reader takes longer to process the meaning of the statement. Those persons who are aware of the differences between spoken and written language and who have had much experience with written language have little difficulty understanding almost every novel sentence structure. But this is not the case with inexperienced readers.

The complexity of a sentence is increased by any change in the order of any major element of the verb phrase (e.g., direct object, indirect object, adverbial, predicate nominative, ...). For example, when the direct object is moved even in a simple sentence complexity is increased.

10. Los alumnos estudian la lección.

11. Los alumnos la lección estudian.

12. La lección los alumnos estudian.

The change in order may increase the complexity even more when both noun phrases can be subject and/or object.

13. El árbol ocultaba la casa.

14. El árbol la casa ocultaba.

15. La casa el árbol ocultaba.

The added dimension of ambiguity makes comprehension of this sentence more difficult. Movement of the indirect object has the same effect on complexity.

16. Este café le gusta mucho a tu hermana.

17. A tu hermana le gusta mucho este café.

Whenever the indirect object, adverbial, and so forth is a complex prepositional phrase and the order is altered the difficulty of the structure is increased.

18. De pronto, un buen día en la biblioteca de Londres, una
taberna de Viena o un teatro de París, uno escucha a
personas próximas que hablan español.

This sentence is taken from a first-year reader. The complexity of this statement cannot be attributed to the vocabulary because it can be considered easy and of high frequency. Rather it is due principally to the word order. One can see that the adverbial phrases preceding the subject and verb do not represent the expected word order. If the sentence is rearranged to a more natural word order a decrease in the difficulty of the structure is noted.

19. De pronto, un buen día uno escucha a personas próximas
que hablan español en la biblioteca de Londres, una
taberna de Viena o un teatro de París.

When resolution of subject and verb occurs much sooner as in this second example, difficulty is decreased.

As can be expected movement of the predicate nominative, another major element of the verb phrase, will decrease the facility of comprehension.

20. Es difícil encontrar la cita en este libro.

21. Encontrar la cita en este libro es difícil.

22. En este libro encontrar la cita es difícil.

It appears then, that anytime a major constituent of the verb phrase is moved or if there is an alteration in the expected word order of a sentence the complexity of that structure increases. Any rule that reorders a structure, such as topicalization, passive, etc... consequently, adds to the difficulty in reading and comprehending that sentence.

Conjunction

It seems that any conjunction process would increase the intricacy of a structure but evidence (e.g., example three) contradicts that assumption. The conjunctions used in joining two or more words, phrases, or sentences of equal status are the familiary "y," "pero," "luego," "pues," etc... and although they all belong to the same linguistic class they cannot all be processed with the same facility. For example, the copulative "y" is easier to understand than the adversative "pero."

23. Eva lee el libro y Pablo escribe la carta.

24. Eva lee el libro pero Pablo escribe la carta.

"Pero" demands more information from the reader. The sentences conjoined by "pero" require that the reader understand a relationship of opposing events in addition to the conjoining of the statements. This does not imply that coordination with "y" is easier to explain but it does appear to be easier to understand. The hierarchy of difficulty with coordinating conjunctions seems to be the following in order of ascending difficulty: (a) y, (b) o, (c) luego, (d) pero, mas, (e) pues, (f) o...o, (g) ni...ni, (h) ya...ya. Each coordinating conjunction may be judged as to difficulty on two points, their meaning and frequency of use. "Mas" is placed after "pero" because it appears less frequently in spoken and written Spanish. "Pues" is difficult because of its causal meaning related to the motive for performing an event (e.g., Madrugamos, pues nos espera el profesor) and since it is used mainly as a written form that might explain its difficulty for persons with little experience with written Spanish. The correlative conjunctions seem to be the most difficult for beginning readers.

The types of linguistic categories that are conjoined also affect the intricacy of the structures. In nominal conjunction complexity is minimal.

25. Compra dulces, pan, leche y chocolate.

Conjoined adjectives likewise do not seem to increase significantly the readability of a sentence.

26. El vestido de Marta es gris, azul, blanco y rojo.

However, when the grammatical categories conjoined are adverbs comprehension seems to decrease.

27. El gato corre sobre, encima y por los árboles.

These examples seem to indicate that the complexity of coordinate conjunction is dependent on the coordinating conjunction used and the categories that are conjoined (i.e., nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs,...).

Another kind of addition, subordination, is the product of embedding one sentence in another such that it fulfills a grammatical function. Subordinate conjunction increases the complexity of a structure for several reasons. Subordination is not only a process of addition, it also deletes and substitutes constituent parts. The subordinating conjunctions and the semantics of subordination or embedding are also difficult to understand. One type of embedding is relativization. The sentences in example 28 can be joined through relative subordination.

28. Los mecánicos trabajan poco. Ellos cobran demasiado.

29. Los mecánicos que cobran demasiado trabajan poco.

30. Los mecánicos, que cobran demasiado, trabajan poco.

Sentences 29 and 30 are not completely synonymous but for our purposes both are equally difficult to understand. Beginning readers often fail to understand that noun phrases that have the same referent can be substituted with the appropriate relative pronoun. The correct form is selected depending on the relationship between the noun phrase and the verb. Noun phrases which are the object of a preposition and whose referents are human are more difficult to understand than examples 29 and 30.

31. Los mecánicos trabajan mucho. Les pagan poco.

32. Los mecánicos a quienes les pagan poco trabajan mucho.

Nominal subordination is another kind of embedding that makes reading difficult.

33. Juan va al cine y eso me sorprende.

34. Me sorprende que Juan va (vaya) al cine.

35. El que Juan va (vaya) al cine me sorprende.

The statements joined by the coordinating conjunction are easier to understand than 34 and 35. The embedded structure and the subordinating conjunction both increase the complexity of the statement.

Another kind of embedding concerns the infinitive. A structure like 36 is easy to comprehend.

36. Quiero comer.

The underlying form of 36 is

37. *Yo quiero que yo coma

and even though some information has been deleted the complexity of the resulting sentence has not been increased. Deletion rules, as in this example, do not always make reading more difficult. Not all infinitive constructions, however, are as easy to understand as this one. The sentences in 38 can be restructured in two ways.

38. Ve a la gente y sale del cuarto.

39. Sale del cuarto al ver a la gente.

40. Sale del cuarto cuando ve a la gente.

Sentence 39 is more complex than 36 although both are basically the same structures. Not all kinds of embedding are equally hard to read for the beginning reader. Some kinds of embedding, as in 36, seem to be easier than others.

Deletion

Deletion of words often eliminates information the reader needs in order to comprehend the meaning of a statement. Not all deletion rules, however, make written language harder to read. The deletion rules that produce nominalization of adjectives, possessives, and similar constituents do not seem to create difficulty in comprehension.

41. El libro rojo es mío. El rojo es mío.

42. El libro mío está aquí. El mío está aquí.

Nominalization with prepositional phrases (e.g., la de papá) and clauses (e.g., la que recibió) are the result of deletion but complexity is due to the nature of the structure that assumes the nominal function.

The deletion of copula and the relative pronoun that creates adjectives is another example of a deletion process that produces a construction that is easily understood.

43. La muchacha que es inteligente está aquí.

44. La muchacha inteligente está aquí.

A similar kind of delection may confuse the inexperienced reader.

45. Se cayó la muchacha que estaba corriendo detrás del perro.

46. Se cayó la muchacha corriendo detrás del perro.

Students learning to read may interpret "corriendo" as an adjective and thus misinterpret the meaning. Although deletion may sometimes omit information not all deletion rules make reading harder.

It is evident that a successful SNS reading program must recognize the sequential nature of the reading process. The linguistic features discussed here illustrate that prose that is easy or difficult to read is the product of several factors one of which is syntax. This concern for syntax does not mean that criteria not based on syntax must be discarded. On the contrary, every factor should be considered. We still know very little about readability and must use all the tools we have to continue examining all aspects of this phenomenon.

NOTES

1. Seth Spaulding, "A Spanish Readability Formula" in *Modern Language Journal*, 40(December, 1956), 433-441.

2. Frank Patterson, *Como escribir para ser entendido*. (El Paso, Texas: Casa Bautista de Publicaciones, 1972).

3. *Ibid*., pp. 11-12.

4. M. Botel, J. Dawkins, and A. Granowsky, "A Syntactic Complexity Formula" *Assessment Problems in Reading*, ed. W. H. MacGinitie (Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association, 1973). 77-86.

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PANEL DISCUSSION A:

TEACHING SPANISH TO SPANISH SPEAKERS

Florence Barkin
Arizona State University

While time and energy have been devoted to designing and testing of language proficiency of children, little effort has been expended in determining the language abilities of the teacher in bilingual programs. In this short presentation, I wish to examine the objectives of bilingual programs in an attempt to develop clear criteria of testing teachers' language abilities for the purpose of certification.

The Department of Foreign Languages at Arizona State University was charged with the duty of administering a language proficiency examination for the purpose of determining whether or not candidates would be able to teach in bilingual programs. While the Department immediately formed a committee to take on the assigned task, such an imperfectly defined duty provided material for discussion and debate. What was it that had to be certified? Must teachers in bilingual programs be able to communicate orally in the language in a fluent manner or did they only have to translate a few isolated words or expressions? Did the teacher have to be literate? Was he or she to teach children to read and/or write in Spanish, for example? If so, would such skills be taught before or after they were taught in English?

People from other states voiced many of the same unanswered questions. Naturally, those designated to develop and administer these exams were faced with an immediate problem: Should we wait until such questions are answered or should we design an exam in the hope that our conjectures correctly predict the future trends of bilingual education in the city, county,state and nation? In a sense, there was little choice. An examination had to be designed if bilingual programs were to be given any credence at all. Language departments as well as other departments at universities, school districts and/or state agencies were forced to develop criteria upon which to base future bilingual education programs. However, even before these criteria had been proposed, evaluative measures had to be provided. Thus, while the responsibilities of the bilingual teacher were left undefined, specific tests evaluating people's language abilities had to be developed. How such a task can be successfully completed depends upon how well the examination designers are able to out-guess legislators, community organizers, administrators, parents and students themselves.

Some of the questions that our committee considered are the following:

1) What are the responsibilites of the bilingual teacher in a particular school system?

2) How is the bilingual program organized and administered?

3) What are the community attitudes toward bilinguals and toward bilingual education?

4) Has the school system considered opening bilingual programs to English monolingual children?

5) What is the relationship between the majority and minority culture in the schools?

6) What are the state requirements of teacher certification?

7) Does the university's bilingual program (if such a program exists) clearly specify language requirements for future teachers in either or both languages?

8) Who is in charge of language certification, especially in the area of certifying bilingual proficiency—the state, the school district, the university's foreign language department, or the college of education, etc?

9) Do the above organizations work together in their goal of preparing teachers to serve in bilingual programs?

10) What is the composition of the student body?

11) Is the foreign language department and/or college of education aware of issues involving the standard vs. non-standard variety(ies) or toward speakers who have not developed literacy in one or both of their languages?

12) Have the bilingual programs been implemented in the secondary schools?

I would like to emphasize that consideration of the above and other related issues can shed light on the multifaceted areas involved in determining and examining language proficiency. An instrument that takes these factors seriously invites revisions as programs change, since it is a comprehensive treatment of the issues at hand.

Marilyn Seymann
Mesa Community College

The native language program at Mesa Community College forms part of the Bilingual Teacher Aide curriculum. The homogeneity of our students is more a result of a common career goal and motivation towards that end than of linguistic similarities.

Our program features a pre-assessment. Each student is informed, by a profile analysis, of individual areas of strengths and weaknesses. We have found, typically, that our students are stronger in receptive than in productive skills. We have noted that inhibition in oral production is attributable more to students' own attitudes toward their spoken language and to a lack of lexical items in the instructional areas than to actual linguistic weaknesses. A wider distribution of weaknesses is noted in written areas. Minimal familiarity with the written word is clearly due to a lack of any formal training.

Teaching activities concentrate on strengthening linguistic skills in listening, speaking, reading, and writing through the use of concepts and context specifically related to the bilingual classroom and curriculum.

Specific teaching activities in each area include:

Listening:

1. Classes are conducted completely in Spanish and use of standard and non-standard forms are underlined for the purpose of educating the studentsto their own speech and to the speech which they will hear in the classroom.
2. Listening to children's books, music and poetry are included for analysis and discussion.

Speaking:

1. Story-telling - original stories, children's stories, holiday stories and leyendas are retold at a child's level offering the student practice in the spoken language as well as familiarity with expressive reading and questioning techniques.
2. Subject matter units - students are required to present content material in each area of the elementary curriculum in the form of an organized lesson plan, which includes the specific vocabulary for each instructional area.
3. Dramatizations - Groups of students develop and present a play which is culturally and linguistically sensitive to the children of the Southwest.

This play is performed in local elementary schools for the children in the bilingual programs.

4. Music-songs serve to increase phonetic acuity as well as to offer a cultural dimension to the program.

5. Poetry - selected works for children and original poetry is read and students are taught to use poetry as a creative device for eliciting speech and writing in the bilingual classroom.

6. Community projects - students are required, as part of their course work, to go into the community and conduct meetings in Spanish to educate parents to the concept of bilingual education and also to their ability and responsibility of being teachers in the home.

Reading:

1. Childrens' stories are read aloud. Emphasis here is placed both on reading and selection of appropriate materials.

2. Children's literature - emphasis on selection, value and literature as a tool to help children understand themselves.

3. Leyendas from Mexico and Spain are read to familiarize the students with the history of the culture so that they can be prepared to be a cultural resource in the classroom.

4. Reading practice is also done with the instruments used to test children in the schools. Students practice reading these so that they can become more comfortable with their administration.

Writing:

This area is seen as the most lacking and therefore receives special attention.

1. Each student develops an original children's book which is illustrated, reproduced and field tested in the local public schools.

2. Each student develops an entire unit in Spanish, including lesson plan and teaching tools.

3. Formal instruction in the structure of the Spanish language is done so that students are better prepared to teach SSL and ESL.

4. Formal study in the areas of syllabification, accentuation, orthography, archaisms, anglicisms, omissions and additions of letters, dialect variants, subjunctive, preterite and imperfect usage,

participial irregularities, etc. is done with attempts to apply each area to a relevant area in the classroom.

5. Concentration on classroom instructional vocabulary in all curriculum areas is incorporated into formal grammatical lessons.

6. Careful study of the influence of English on orthography, pronunciation and usage of the local dialect is done to familiarize students with this phenomenon.

The total approach to the native speaking student is an additive one. A standard variety of Spanish is added with no attempt to diminish the existing variety. It is the philosophy of our program that we can fulfill multiple goals simultaneously by effective planning. Our students are prepared to meet the needs which they will have as the Spanish speaking role model in a bilingual classroom by offering them a pride in what they possess and access to what they will need but have not yet acquired. Extensive use of peer teaching and small group instruction allow maximum utilization of the wide variety of linguistic resources available within each class.

Hildebrando Villarreal
California State University, Los Angeles

The area of Spanish for Spanish speakers that interests me is reading. In order to have a successful reading program for this emerging field of teaching Spanish several basic problems must be addressed. The matter of the methodology employed to teach reading is one. If we examine the methods used to teach reading in the United States and in Spanish America they are found to be lacking for SNS (Spanish for native speakers) programs in several respects. They are methods, generally speaking, that are intended for children, not adults. Second, they are designed for monolinguals, not bilinguals. Finally, their target population is illiterate, not already literate in one language. Bilingual Hispanic students suffer from illiteracy, not in the usual sense of the word because they can read and pronounce Spanish words and sentences, but because they do not always understand the meaning of what they read.

A successful reading program must have a broad linguistic base from which to function adequately. This means that more information should be available on the varieties of Spanish spoken in the United States. It is not inaccurate to say that we presently do not know enough about the Spanish spoken in the United States. If an instructor is unfamiliar with the language of his/her students, he/she may not be able to help them as much in overcoming their reading problems.

Although we do know a great deal about the reading process and the skills that are needed to be a good reader, very little research has been done on what methods of teaching are best to stimulate transfer of reading skills. For example, if a person is a good reader in English, will he/she also be a good reader in Spanish? Which reading skills transfer best from one language to another? What methods are best for maximizing transfer of reading skills to a second language? a first language? Is transfer more successful from the first to a second language or vice-versa? Until we can answer these questions, we may not know if we are using the best methods to teach reading.

The matter of reading materials should also be discussed. Few publishers or instructors think about the sequential development of reading materials when SNS classes are concerned. This may be due to a lack of awareness of the developmental nature of reading or to a lack of research on the readability of various types of Spanish prose. This latter point is quite evident if one considers the fact that only two articles have been written about the readability of Spanish materials.

Until we find answers for these questions and increase our basic research in these areas the reading component of Spanish for Spanish speakers will be less than adequate.

PANEL DISCUSSION B:

LITERACY AND THE NATIVE AMERICAN

Elizabeth A. Brandt
Arizona State University

In many American Indian communities in the Southwest there is opposition and resistance to the recording of the native language in a written form. Much of this opposition is due to religious prohibitions and the fear that recording will violate sacred traditions and expose sacred matters to untrained individuals as Pino points out in her statement.

Linguists, languages professionals, and teachers must be sensitive to these very real concerns and strive for safeguards that respect community concerns for the kinds of material that may be developed, the permitted audiences for such materials, the rights of access, and the kind of media used. Academics often see printed matter as the only real avenue of transmission and dissemination, but technology provides many alternatives such as audiotape, videotape and video disc, and film. Both film and videotape provide a greater degree of context and are relatively low in cost. Videotapes have the added advantages of quick production and immediate availability for use.

The opposition to writing and literacy in the native language should also stimulate a critical reexamination of literacy and its effects; to see that no violence is done to the fabric of the community through ignorance. Literacy may have effects on memory and recall. There was fear when literacy spread in Europe that people would no longer carry important information in their hearts and minds and thus, commit grevious deeds without thought--a prediction which appears to be borne out in the history of Western exploitation and one which American Indians also fear. There is evidence that literacy affects the phonological shapes of forms. Use of writing has a distancing affect since it removes the necessity for face-to-face contact in many situations. In this sense it affects the structure of social relations and especially, the teaching and learning functions of the transmission of knowledge. This makes possible learning without necessarily absorbing the guides and cautions that properly accompany the transmission of knowledge. In this, it also has the potential to affect patterns of authority and social control.

The process of written text construction always embodies principles of discourse and interpretation that create an internal textual world and may stand divorced from principles that apply to oral discourse (Derrida, 1976). Writing creates non-living fossils in the form of texts and may interrupt the continuing conversation that members of a community or culture carry on in their continuing creation of the World (Goody, 1977). This loss of the ability to selectively forget, to edit, and to adapt impairs the viability of a culture and its people.

We must consider some of the functions and effects of literacy, especially when literacy is available in another language, before there is an automatic assumption that writing is the only solution.

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Donna Pino
All-Indian Pueblo Council

Bilingual Education to many Pueblo people who do not understand its purpose is perceived as an encroachment upon their Pueblo values. To most it is just another tactic to Americanize, to take away land holdings, and to infringe upon what is dearest to them, their religion.

Pueblo people have always known that language and culture cannot be separated, perhaps even before sociolinguists discovered this truth. For this reason the language of the Pueblos is revered as sacred. Language use from the highest hierarchy, to home language, to street language are all slanted toward the sacredness of language. For these reasons then the writing of the language to many Pueblo people is sacriligious. To many Pueblo people writing the language means exposing the core of their religion they wish to keep sacred and secret.

It has been my task to show Pueblo people that the study and the writing of their language can be accomplished without having to encroach upon the religious sphere. I found that the most successful way of getting this point across is by developing materials in the language, despite the "no's," and then showing them the finished product. They are amazed and awed at seeing their language written and even more astonished when they can actually read the script. Seeing a book on verbs, on time using the clock, wild game and bird books without mention of their sacred implications seem to dispell the fear of that "revelation."

Another difficulty in receiving support for Bilingual Education and the writing and study of the language is the Pueblo viewpoint that parents are responsible for the teaching of language and anything tied in with the lifestyle and culture of the people. Anyone else, especially non-Indians, are looked upon as taking this responsibility away, another encroachment. The best thing to do in this situation is to sit back patiently, while you're developing materials and working with the language, until a tribal group asks for help. Those groups that ask for help are those tribes who have begun to realize that they might be losing their language. With more and more Pueblo exposure to mainstream society, bits and pieces of the language and culture are being lost. There seems to be more and more Pueblo children growing up speaking English instead of the Native tongue. This has caused much concern among the elders and Pueblo educators. If this trend continues, I see the study and writing of Pueblo languages becoming an important facet in the education of Pueblo children.

Kay Sands
Arizona State University

There is a tendency among those who work intensively to teach language and literacy to non-Anglos in this country to view the oral tradition, particularly strong among American Indian peoples, as an obstacle to be overcome if literacy and language proficiency is to be attained. Students are seen as illiterate in their own language rather than non-literate, and teachers are frustrated at the indifference or even hostility to the written word that students and parents display. Teachers are equally disturbed by the resistance they find to learning English in school. While current methodologies for teaching literacy and language are constantly improving and becoming more sensitive to cultural needs, one which might be extremely useful is generally overlooked. The oral tradition of American Indian peoples is not, in fact, an obstacle to literacy and language proficiency. It is a system of language and communication that coexists with the written word, nourishes it with traditional concepts, values, and aesthetics, and may, in fact, be drawn in the teaching of language and writing.

The oral tradition is often viewed as static, archaic, a vestige of quaint and no longer viable modes of life, but as a part of culture it is in constant flux, incorporating new experience, adapting to changing circumstances, changing at a pace and in the direction of the needs of the people who preserve and nourish it. In Leslie Marmon Silko's novel Ceremony, she continually emphasizes the dynamics of culture, the inevitability of change and the need for people to adapt to new ways, but not by abandoning the old. She sees story telling as crucial to both the conservation of traditional ways and the incorporation of that which is viable from other cultures and new circumstances. Both the written and the oral are part of this story telling process which reaffirms identity and simultaneously allows incorporation of the new into tribal ways without creating a threat to the continuance of culture.

The dynamics of the oral process, then, may provide a means to facilitate the teaching of language and literacy because it is an inherently non-threatening acceptable methodology that supports traditional culture and is familiar to all members of tribes. The use of story telling for bilingual education has potential for parent involvement as members of the community may be drawn in to perform for children. The resistance to Anglo format textbooks may also be somewhat alleviated by the use of cassette recordings of oral performances, and children may be encouraged to imitate oral forms in their written work. Such drawing on the oral tradition would allow the incorporation of new skills into traditional culture without disruption of the old ways or creation of a threat to the very continuance of the traditions that bind the people together and define their identity as a group.

As Silko points out in Ceremony, that which does not grow and change, withers and dies. The oral tradition has displayed an amazing capacity to accommodate change and to grow tenaciously in the face of dire predictions of its demise. Perhaps it has been overlooked too long as a resource in the teaching of language.

VII

LINGUISTICS AND TEACHING

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HALTRESHT, MICHAEL AND ROGERS, SARAH (Corpus Christi State University): TEACHING READING IN ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE: A SYNOPSIS OF ACTIVITIES: An effective reading program in English as a second language involves the following sequence: (1) reading sentences that have been orally mastered; (2) reading words within these sentences; (3) building up a repertory of sight words; (4) reading new combinations of familiar letters, words, and sentences; (5) reading paragraphs and short passages, and inferring the meaning of new words, processing information efficiently, and comprehending structure signals; (6) forming reading groups, in accordance with ability and interest, for the purpose of handling the extensive reading; (7) introducing literature--first poetry, then short stories and plays, then longer prose works; and (9) effective independent reading in all areas.

STAHL, ROBERT J. (Arizona State University) THE DOMAIN OF COGNITION: A FUNCTIONAL MODEL OF LEARNING APPROPRIATE FOR LANGUAGE, SEMANTICS, AND PSYCHO-LINGUISTICS RESEARCH, TEACHING, AND EVALUATION: Over the past twenty years, a number of models have been presented which have been functional for some aspects of learning, individual development, and acquiring information (Bloom et al., 1956; Bruner et al., 1956; Gagne, 1970; Krathwohl et al., 1964; and Piaget and Inhelder, 1969). While these models have been widely used in a variety of teaching-learning settings, they have each focused on explaining only certain aspects of human cognitive and cognitive-affect behavior. Two of the most widely used models, Bloom's Cognitive and Krathwohl's Affective Domain taxonomies, are being used inappropriately (as planning and teaching models as well as for their intended evaluation purpose) and in spite of the fact that research findings in learning and memory do not support either model as a model for learning (Brandhorst, 1977, 1978). Furthermore, adherence to the Bloom-Krathwohl systems has resulted in planning and teaching which distort how learning should be planned and teaching should be implemented.

The proposed paper will present a taxonomy of cognition which incorporates cognitive and cognitive-affect into a single system that can be used as a model of planning, implementing, monitoring, and assessing learning situations (Stahl, 1978). The eight category Domain of Cognition covers thinking/learning from the pre-Observation Preparation level to the production via synthesis of new forms of information on the Generation level. This system incorporates three short term memory levels prior to long term retrieval-retention level behavior.

Built into the taxonomy are several features which seem to clarify some of the problems being confronted by other models. Among these features are: (a) the suggestion that "processes" are content free and level-free, hence there exist no automatic upper-or lower-level cognitive or information processes; (b) the suggestion that "procedures" (such as problem-solving or moral reasoning) are combinations of "processes", hence there are no automatic upper-or lower-level cognitive procedures; (c) its focus on how well an individual understands the information-base of thinking as the criterion for identifying the actual level of cognition s/he is operating; and (d) the incorporation of cognitive-affect as an integral part of cognition as opposed to the artificial separation of it as many models now propose.

The Domain of Cognition can be used to study the acquisition and use of visual-verbal-auditory information from the pre-exposure through the synthesis levels. It allows for the study of language and verbal information use in terms of their function in context rather than merely in terms of their concrete forms. Hence, it allows for the consideration of the function of language use as an integral part of what an individual learns and how s/he may use what s/he has learned. Therefore, this model can be utilized to plan learning experiences, monitor on-going instructional behavior, and assess the results of instruction.

STOVALL, JAMES F. (Our Lady of the Lake University) and STOVALL, MARGARET (Trinity University) THEORETICAL DICHOTOMIES IN PRE-SCHOOL CULTURAL ENRICHMENT PROGRAMS: This paper explores a theoretical dichotomy as it is manifested in two pre-school cultural enrichment projects. In recent years substantial efforts have been made toward helping pre-school age low-income children obtain more academic success. Two dominant viewpoints have influenced these efforts. This paper compares a cultural enrichment program based on deprivation theory with a similar program utilizing a developmental social-psychological approach. The deprivation model embraces a "culture of poverty" bias as a way of interpreting a general lack of academic achievement often associated with low-income minority students. This approach presumes a dysfunctional socio-cultural environment which results in poor academic performance. An attempt is made to provide the students with sufficient skills to enable them to transcend their immediate situation. Looking at the same phenomenon, a developmental approach is more holistic as it accepts the practical routines of home, school, and society. This approach attempts to provide the students with adaptive strategies which are culturally and socially consistent with those daily realities. This paper discusses the relative strengths and weaknesses of both approaches focusing on their applicability and influence upon the daily lives of the students.

This paper questions the utility of deprivation concepts in the organization and implementation of cultural enrichment programs. It suggests that the culture of poverty (deprivation) approach and its attendant "solutions" is in itself dysfunctional, producing as many problems as successes. As a prerequisite for success the approach demands the construction of a self-identity that is not consistent with existing behavior. Students are often confronted with the necessity of rejecting the values of their home and community in order to see themselves as "better people." The paper suggests that the developmental approach provides a more humanistic and relevant solution to the problems faced by minority students in public schools.

WEBB, JOHN (The University of Iowa) ORIGINS OF COLLOQUIAL SPANISH FOR HEALTH CARE SETTINGS: The health care professional and the patient need a common language. What can be mutually understood is often rooted in folklore and occasional misapprehension, may involve euphemism or humor, on occasion is couched in embarrassment--and these must be dealt with in approaching study of such expression. Elements of etymology and folk etymology can be helpful to the student.

THE DOMAIN OF COGNITION: A FUNCTIONAL MODEL OF LEARNING APPROPRIATE FOR LANGUAGE, SEMANTICS, AND PSYCHO-LINGUISTICS RESEARCH, TEACHING, AND EVALUATION

Robert J. Stahl
Arizona State University

Language, semantics, and linguistics represent ways of categorizing how humans use, organize, and process certain types of information. For years, educators have tried to focus on the outcomes of instruction without developing a framework for explaining how people process information towards reaching these outcomes. In some cases, educators have been trained to consider processing and outcomes as two separate and unrelated aspects of learning, thinking, and behavior. What is needed is a system which describes how humans process information, as well as how this processing may lead to different types or levels of behavioral outcomes. This system would not only help understand how humans deal with language and linguistic information, but could be used for research, teaching, and evaluation in this area.

This paper proposes a new system which can be used to help educators plan for, carry out, and assess instruction and its effects upon the learner. In order to better appreciate the proposed new taxonomic scheme, the Domain of Cognition, a new information processing model of memory and learning will be introduced. This processing model, referred to as the Stahl Perceptual Information Processing and Operations Model (SPInPrOM), is compatible with the current research findings and principles of memory and learning. The model was originally developed to introduce preservice teachers to how information is processed by an individual. The model possesses a great deal of "ecological validity" (Neisser, 1976) because it not only makes a great deal of 'sense' to preservice teachers, but inservice teachers readily support the model as being very plausible and practical to understand and explain thinking, memory and learning as these occur within their classrooms. The model took six months to develop and was produced as a by-product of the work on the Domain of Cognition. And, while the Domain of Cognition can stand on its own merits, it is much more rapidly comprehended by teachers after the information processing model has been introduced to them.

The Stahl Perceptual Information Processing and Operations Model (SPInPrOM)

The basic components and flow of the SPInPrOM model are provided in Figure 1. The model contains several components featured in many existing information processing models. The various operations and characteristics of the inner workings of this system are explained below. This description helps to convert the model into a practical way of illustrating how thinking-learning takes place. It suggests a workable sequence of how the information processing system operates to determine what and how thinking and learning are to take place.

The order of the presentation below was based upon readability, convenience, and ease of understanding. As much as possible, these criteria will be followed

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throughout this presentation. As appropriate, additional items will be identified for comprehensiveness and completeness (as suggested by various learning theorists). The intent of this description is to provide a working model of the ways a person goes about thinking which may result in learning.

1. Environmental Information. This component identifies the external source of information to be confronted and dealt with by the processing system. This component is defined to include all the information and stimuli which are available within the life space of the individual. Environmental factors may attempt to control or influence a student's thinking and behavior. However, it is the individual who decides what in the environment will be attended to, internalized, and processed.

2. Preparation or Perceptual Set. Although this aspect of information processing is not identified by any single component of the model, it plays an important role in the early stages of the entire processing operation. Sometimes referred to as expectancy set (Estes, 1972; Frase, 1977; Gagne and Rothkopf, 1975), this "mind set" acts to guide a number of ways a learner attends to, receives, processes, and understands available and recently received information. Various individual aptitudes as well as one's cognitive style also help 'ready' the individual for information intake. In fact, the mind set may even persist during an entire learning activity.

This readiness or preparation for information is a critical variable in learning (Bloom, 1968; Ausubel, 1960; Neisser, 1976). In many situations the persons personal motivations and needs produce a powerful perceptual set (Gagne, 1976). These motivations prepare one to expect certain environmental events and to view these events in ways consistent with his/her own motives and needs. At the same time, certain types of information (e.g., pre- and adjunct questions, advanced organizers) appear to alert individuals to attend to, receive, process, and assign special meaning to about-to-be-presented information (Ausubel, 1960; Rothkopf and Bisbicos, 1967). This information suggests a "feed forward" feature of one's mind or perceptual set.

3. Sensory Receptors - Effectors. Information in the environment is picked up by the individual's Sensory Receptors. These Receptors include the physical physiological elements of the sensory system including the organs and nerve networks of sight, sound, taste, smell, touch and interior physiological activities such as muscle pain, fatigue, aches, etc. These Receptors actually pick up and receive information from the environment and convert it into nerve impulses. Sensory Effectors, on the other hand, are the same as the Receptors as they operate to act upon the environment via internal behavioral response commands. For instance, while picking up and decoding sounds into auditory nerve impulses within the inner ear provides an example of Sensory Reception, the activity of using the ear to deliberately 'listen for' certain sounds is an example of a Sensory Effector at work.

In part identified with selective attention or selective reception, this component of the model indicates where information from the environment is actually taken into (and by) the processing system. To be available for later processing, information must be received. Competing and/or incompatible environmental activities often work to reduce the pertinent information which is received by the individual (Trabasso and Brown, 1968).

4. Perceptual Register. The Perceptual Register picks up and records momentarily the kinds of information associated with an entire "perceptual system" rather than merely that picked up by each individual sense organ as separate items. Several such systems exist and function within the body with the information they pick up being recorded in the Perceptual Register (Crowder, 1976).

It seems the individual is capable of preserving information (e.g., image) in this Register for a micro-second after the external information is no longer available to the Sensory Receptors. The capacity of the Perceptual Register is apparently quite large but it holds information for only milliseconds of time (i.e., extremely short duration). This ability to store information for two or three milliseconds has caused some to mistake this Register for a "sensory memory storage" unit (Neisser, 1967; Sperling, 1960).

Information not registered is no longer available for processing further into the system. The information which is registered may not survive the encoding operations which translate sensory information into the "languages" the storage, memory and processing systems require. Hence, part of the sensory registered information will not reach Transient Storage or Short Term Memory (Haber, 1970; Sietsema, 1979).

Finally, certain types of sensory information which reach the register automatically are converted to messages which direct a behavioral response. Sensual data which require an immediate response (e.g., a hand on a hot stove) are registered as such (i.e., reflex action required), and a message is immediately sent to the Response Transmitter to behave in appropriate ways (i.e., pull the hand away).

5. Transient Storage. Information reaching the Transient Storage mechanism is in urgent need of some attention or else the specifics are quickly lost. In this storage unit, information is presented and then rapidly "pushed out" within a few seconds. Information "pushed out" is lost to the memory and later processing systems. However, information which is attended to may be preserved and remembered. Unfortunately, Transient Storage is often equated with Short Term Memory rather than seen as the extremely short-term storage system that it is.

6. Surviving Transient Storage. Information entering Transient Storage will remain for an extremely short period of time (i.e., a matter of seconds) and then discharged (Baddeley, 1972). The processing system operates to instantly decide what will be done with all newly received information. These decisions determine what will try to be retained verbatium, whether the 'gist' of the message is enough to remember, and what other actions may be called for to deal with the information.[1] If the information is deemed meaningful in some way, the result is a memory trace of this information within Short Term Memory. Unless motivated or otherwise to do so, the tendency of the system is to allow the specific information passing through Transient Storage to be lost to the memory system while a memory trace of the general "gist" of the details survives and is kept alive in Short Term Memory (Berelson and Steiner, 1964).

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[1] As pointed out by Neisser (1976), there exists no special or separate mechanism or process of Selective Attention. Attention is an outgrowth of the various operations of the various inner workings of the system components and is not relegated to any one mechanism. Attention is most often an extension of the operations of the Perceptor.

7. Short Term Memory. Short Term Memory is the component which includes that "which can be remembered about" recently received information. In contrast to Transient Storage which is an extremely short term data bank, Short Term Memory serves a recollection-remembrance function. This memory operation tends to retain general features of recently received information while often allowin the details to be lost. At the same time, attention to detail aids this mechanism to remember (i.e., keep in mind) specific details as well.

The functional capacity of Short Term Memory, though relatively small--perhaps a range of 7 ± 2 items of recently received data--can be greatly expanded by "chunking" (Miller, 1956). This chunking involves organizing inforation in Short Term Memory into units or blocks of information. Without interference, one may be able to transfer Short Term Memory information into Working Memory where it can be rehearsed and practiced. Extended periods of time spent on categorizing and "chunking" suggest Working Memory and not Short Term Memory operations. Interference disrupts the "chunking activities" and the transference of data into Working Memory (Underwood, 1964; Peterson and Peterson, 1959).

The critical factor at this point is the need to keep the information alive in the memory system. Hence, if the received data have no special meaning to the person, they will most likely drop from memory unless those data are rehearsed actively in the system. Data not kept alive by transference to Working Memory will decay rapidly from the system and be lost.

Information reaching this far into the system has already begun a transformation or translation into information which has meaning for the individual. This transformation may result in alterations, incompleteness, inaccuracies, and/or distortions in the originally presented information so that it is more (or made) compatible with what the system already 'knows' and 'expects.' Unless feedback is received otherwise, the system will accept these transformation as being equivalent to the information originally presented in the environment.

8. Perceptor. The Perceptor is the "chief executive" of the entire information processin system. In order to do its administrative tasks, the Perceptor operates to:

a) assign meaning to recently encountered and received information. This includes influencing the Sensory Receptors, Sensory Register, and encoding of data into Transient Storage. This operation helps to reduce, modify, and to some degree censor information entering the system (Prokasy and Hall (1963) in Ellis et al., 1979).

b) assign meaning to (making sense of) information in Transient Storage and Short Term Memory. This includes deciding what this information means in terms the individual can understand it (i.e., in terms that make sense to the person as he/she can understand it) (Flavell, 1977; Martin, 1971; Postman, 1968).

c) decide what information will be retained within the system as well as how it is to be used, transformed,retained, and stored. This decision includes new information just received from the environment all the way to what is stored, retrieved, and used in Long Term Storage (Greeno in Gregg, 1974).

d) direct the operations of other components of the memory system (i.e., Short Term, Working, and Long Term Memories) as well as their interactions (Krech et al., 1974).

e) decide how much influence the person's Cognitive-Belief System will have on directing the meanings given to new and recently received information as well as the alternative responses open to the individual (Allport and Postman, 1945; Salomon, 1979; Tulving, 1962).

f) decide how the person will respond within the environment and situation. This means that the Perceptor notifies the Response Mode Transmitter as to what behavior has been decided upon and thus activates the response needed (Ellis et al., 1979).

g) direct the internal thinking operations within the system responsible for conscious thought, processing, and related activities and functions (Cofer, 1973; Berelson and Steiner, 1964).

In review, the Perceptor operates the inner functionings of the memory-storage-response system which ultimately control what is learned, how it is stored, and how one will respond. As a general rule, it is greatly influenced by previous experiences as they are established in the person's own Cognitive-Belief Systems. Hence, there is the continual tendency to perceive, and transform information to fit the "world view" which is lodged in the Cognitive-Belief System. The decisions as to what information is relevant to the person are made by the Perceptor as influenced by the Cognitive-Belief System.

The Perceptor decides what information will be transferred into Working Memory (Crowder, 1976). It also determines how it will be transformed and handled within this particular memory component.

9. Staying Alive in Memory. The life span of recently received information within the processing system up to this point has been measured in terms of seconds. However, information which is to be "learned" must be retained for much longer periods of time. For this reason, the person needs to take steps to keep this information in the system for much longer periods of time. The longer it is kept "alive" within the memory system, the more likely it will be stored for later retrieval. The person keeps this information alive by "rehearsing" it in various ways with past Long Term Memories and other new information as administrated by the Perceptor(Rock, 1958; Sternberg, 1966; Tulving, 1974; Underwood, 1954). The primary purpose of this Rehearsal or practice is to help the person understand the meaning, message, intent, value, and uses of the information in relationship to other information already or just being processed. Rehearsal takes place within Working Memory which allows interaction between Short Term and Long Term Memories. During this interaction operation, the information as transferred is being personalized and further internalized more and more into information which makes sense to the person (Wittrock, 1979; Salomon, 1979).

10. Working Memory. Information reaching Working Memory implies that recently received information has been kept alive for further processing. At this time, information tends to be transformed more and more into the type of data which has meaning for the individual (Greeno, 1973; Lindsay and Norman, 1972; Gagne, 1976). If this means the information needs to be retained in Long Term Storage as originally given, then this rehearsal is referred to as

"memorizing." However, the most common tendency is to transform the given information into "impressions" or "generalizations" which represent the given information with the system equating these transformations with the original information (Wittrock, 1979; Neisser, 1976).

Working Memory provides the arena where newly received information actively interacts with information obtained via Long Term Memory (Wittrock, 1979; Shifflin and Geisler, 1973). This interaction "field tests" the new data to determine how well it fits into the memory system. The more the information is consistent with Long Term Memories, the more likely it will be found meaningful. Hence, in is more likely to be filed for rapid retrieval in Long Term Storage. The mental application of recently received information as well as the application of retrieved-from-Long Term Storage-information upon recently received problems takes place within Working Memory. At all times, this component is under the control of the Perceptor.

11. *Consolidation and Storage*. At the close of an "attention span period," the information, meanings, and results included within Working Memory will be "unloaded" into Long Term Storage, Long Term Memory, or out of the system as if erased. The person is not able to consciously control what will be stored nor how it will be retained. A person can work to *improve the likelihood* of its storage and later retrieval. The more meaning the system has attached to some information, the more it has been appropriately transformed and rehearsed, the more it fits in (although, in some cases, contrasts with) Long Term Memories, and the greater the quality of the consolidation which takes place immediately prior to the close of the "attention span" influence the "what," "how," and "extent" of information which passes out of Working Memory into Long Term Storage. (Craik and Lockheart, 1976; Bruner et al., 1956; Mathewson, 1979).

Although it appears to vary across individuals and even across situations for the same individual, there exists an "attention span" where information in Working Memory is held for a period of time before it is "unloaded" (Posner, 1969). These spans appear to be unconsciously regulated. The close of these spans seem to result in information being encoded and stored in Long Term Storage for later retrieval or 'dropped' from the system as if never encountered.[2] The more important the newly received information is to be retained for much later thinking, the more critical it is for consolidation (summary-review-organization) to occur before the attention span ends. At the same time, individuals are capable under certain conditions to carry information over one span period to the next. This ability give the appearance that the Working Memory component has elastic qualities, i.e., it can 'stretch' its capacities to accommodate information processing across attention span periods.

Unless motivations and perceptions function otherwise, the results of the encoding-to-storage operation tend to support previous generalizations and impressions (or schemata) the person already possesses while tending also to store the specific details where they are more difficult to retrieve (Conrad, 1964; Sachs, 1967). In most situations where new information has been encountered by the individual, consolidation of the contents in Working Memory is necessary to help ensure its transfer into Long Term Storage (Bauman and Glass, 1969; Tishner and Power, 1978).

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[2] The debate as to where this information is ever 'dropped' completely from the system is a moot one. Information which is impossible to retrieve unless under hypnosis or the like for all practical purposes is 'lost' from the system as far as the teacher (and probably the learner as well) are.

12. Long Term Storage. While it is often done, Long Term Storage cannot be equated with Long Term Memory. Information contained in Long Term Storage is extensive, detailed, and permanent. Since there is a theoretically limitless amount of such storage space, it seems that once information is stored in it, there is little that is ever lost. The transfer-to-storage operation encodes the data and files it in Long Term Storage as is appropriate. Such encoding and filing is beyond the conscious control of the individual.

13. Retrieval and Learning. Information which can be recovered from Long Term Storage and used reveals what has been 'learned.' By definition this recovery is required since it suggests the information is available over time for use in thinking and behavior. The more stable this thinking and behavior is across time periods, the better the indication as to how well the information was originally learned. Higher forms of learning all require later retrieval, but they are not restricted to how much one can recover. These higher forms are characterized by how well a person can use retrieved information to guide his/her own thinking and behavior without having to take time to "think about" the information before using it. Thinking and behaving guided by the person's Cognitive-Beliefs (or schemata) are indications of higher level thinking and behavior.[3]

14. Long Term Memory. Long Term Memory includes that which the person "remembers about what is stored." This memory component also directs "how" this information is remembered. As one would expect, the Long Term Memory component and not the Long Term Storage directs the retrieval operation to search, locate, and recover information stored in Long Term Storage.

Changes in Long Term Memories suggest a systematic distortion in memory to make the present memory more consistent and/or reasonable with events familiar to the person. Much of this distortion is in line with the person's own Cognitive-Belief System or special needs. With infrequent remembrance, the omission of details, simplification of experience and structures, the transformation of memories into more familiar detail may go on almost indefinitely (Bartlett, 1932; Daniel, 1972).

The retrieval of data from Long Term Storage via Long Term Memory may be accurate in many details. Frequently, material seems to be fabricated (invented) by the information processing system at the time the memory reports its findings. This missing information is often filled in so as to present a reasonably complete and consistent "memory" (Berelson and Steiner, 1964; Ellis et al, 1979). Thus, "forgetting" (or the failure to retrieve accurate, complete, and/or detailed information from Long Term Storage) is a failure of the memory-retrieval operation rather than a failure of the storage system.

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[3] As presented here, there exist no automatically or inherently higher or lower level processes such as comparing, analyzing, etc. In this model, all operations of the Perceptual Information Processing System reveal the processing of information. Uniprocesses are ways the individual can deal (work) with information in a single, unique way. Uniprocesses include associating, classifying, extracting, valuating, etc. Megaprocesses are combinations of uniprocesses and include problem solving, inductive reasoning, and so forth. In this system, it is the level of the source of the information which guides thinking (i.e., the uniprocesses and megaprocesses) and not the processes themselves which determine whether or not the thinking is a a higher or lower level operation (Stahl, 1978, 1979).

For all practical purposes, information which is stored permanently but which cannot be retrieved via Long Term Memory should be treated as either "forgotten" or "not learned"--since both imply that the information cannot be included within the memory system for use.

15. Utilizing Retrieved Information. Since information and how it may be used to guide thinking as retrieved via Long Term Memory is "learned information", the memory system depends upon its learnings to help make sense of and think through newly received information. Therefore, this learned information is constantly being used in Working Memory to assist the individual 'comprehend' and 'personalize' new information. Seen in this way, "relevancy" assigned to new information depends upon the degree of association that can be found between 'new' and 'old' information and comprehensions.

16. The Cognitive-Belief System. Generating out of Long Term Storage-Memory is an organized framework which functions to separate, departmentalize, structure, and develop hierarchial arrangements of the major ideas, guidelines, beliefs, and generalizations the individual understands from and forms about the universe in which s/he lives. Many of these 'cognitive-beliefs' focus on the individual as a person (i.e., the Self) as well as the relationships s/he has with the world outside Self.

The Cognitive-Belief System contains the individual's world view, values, beliefs, and attitudes as well as those ideas and generalizations which are used to make sense out of the personal experiences of the person. The schemas and schematas mentioned by various learning theorists are "located" within this component of the information-processing system. As a general rule, the Cognitive-Belief System operates to influence the entire system to "see" and "understand" things in ways consistent with the existing world view and the perceived Self. Hence, this component serves a conservative and conforming function within the system.

17. Executive Influence. The Cognitive-Belief System exercises its conforming tendency via the Executive Influence. This Executive exerts a strong influence on the Perceptor and Long Term Memory operations to retrieve and/or process information in ways consistent with the individual's previous perceptions and world view. While this Executive does not control either of these other two components, they are easily influenced. This explains why the individual almost always perceives new experiences and revives past memories to conform to his/her present world view. It also explains why, on some occasions, an individual may resist this conservative, conforming world view and adapt new perceptions, ideas, beliefs, etc., about his/her Self and the world.

18. Influence on Behavior. Not only do learnings and the Cognitive-Belief System influence thinking within Working Memory, they also provide the Perceptor with data about alternative or needed behavioral responses and/or performances. This information information informs the Perceptor which then uses it to reach a decision as to what to do. This information may also be used to influence what is attended to, selected, and/or rejected within the early stages of the processing operations.

19. Response Transmitter. The Response Transmitter functions to inform the nervous system how to respond in a given situation. This component does not determine what behavioral response is to be. Instead, it takes orders from the

Perceptor as to what the response will be. It is the duty of this component to direct the nervous system to carry out the order.

20. Sensory Effectors. As mentioned previously, the effectors are the sense organs and nerve cells which carry out the response transmitted from the Perceptor by way of the Response Transmitter.

21. Feedback-Feedforward. A behavior or thought generated by a person is supported or rejected in whole or in part as a result of the information which is received into the processing system about the thought or behavior. If a particular guideline is used and produces positive results, the guideline is likely to be used again in similar situations. Likewise, negative results provide feedback as to what did not work as well as feedforward about what probably won't work or should be avoided in the future. Information provided by the environment in regards to the person's behavior must be received by the Sensory Receptors and the processing of the new information begins its journey through the system (Wittrock, 1979; McKeachie, 1976).

These phases, components, and operations possess "ecological validity" in that they provide a very practical and realistic overview of how individuals process information within their natural environments. All the reported citations listed are from studies with human subjects. Where possible, the studies were conducted in the natural environments of the learner. Neisser (1976) makes a strong case for the need to develop models with "ecological validity".

From Learning Model to Phases of Thinking and Learning

As revealed by the learning model, information which eventually is to be learned undergoes a great deal of processing on its way through the system. Now that these processing events are somewhat familiar, it seems appropriate to introduce a sequence which has more direct application for observing learned-behavior resulting from instruction. The list below identifies the sequence of processing information for learning and thinking from an instructional viewpoint. The series of phases are remarkably similiar to the sequence of operations within the information processing system (Figures 2 and 3).

1. Preparation. This step identifies the learner's existing perceptual set or expectancy set towards the class, course, content, etc. The learner's motivations, needs, and mind set operate to influence how and what information in the environment will be attended to, noticed, and received. This phase represents the pre-observation readiness of the learner as s/he is prepared to encounter the next experiences.

2. Observation. This step or pseudo-phase is included to point out where the actual input of external information occurs within the sequence of thinking-learning.

3. Reception. This stage focuses on the information the learner actually receives from the environment via the "perceptual system" and recorded in Transient Storage. In the Classroom it is expected that the majority of information received as given by the teacher, text, etc. Information not taken in by the student is no longer available to the system for further processing.

4. Transformation. This step is where the student takes and translates the just-received information in ways that make personal sense to the student. In many cases this will involve tieing the information to previous learning as retrieved via Long Term Memory. During this phase, the student rehearses the information and the meanings assigned to it. This may include practice at using the information as guidelines (or rules) to guide uni- and megaprocess thinking.[4] This rehearsal, especially when supported by external constructive and corrective feedback-forward, increases the likelihood information just received will be acquired and encoded into Long Term Storage-Memory.

5. Information Acquisition. This second pseudo-step in the sequence appears to operate beyond the conscious control of the student. Added for completeness, this step identifies where the acquisition, encoding, and storage of recently transformed information into Long Term Storage-Memory following the close of an 'attention span' occurs.

6. Retention. This phase is where the student demonstrates the ability to search, locate, and retrieve information stored in Long Term Storage via Long Term Memory. The ability to recall information stored in Long Term Storage is a critical phase of learning since un-recalled information is not available to the student to guide behavior over time periods--all of which are criteria to determine whether or not learning occurred. It is generally accepted that recognition is a lower level of Retention than is recollection with both representing minimal levels of learning. (It is important to keep in mind that information received by the student in a given class period and recalled and used from Short Term and/or Working Memories does not indicate learning. Learning is dependent upon retrieval from Long Term Storage--a phenomena not possible to measure during the class period the information was first received (Frase and Swartz, 1979)].

7. Transfersion. This step represents the student's ability to go beyond mere retrieval of information via Long Term Memory because it requires the student to demonstrate the use of the information in relevant situations. During this phase, the student must put to use the information (i.e., guidelines or rules) which have been retrieved from Long Term Storage. This ability is indicative of higher levels of learning and thinking since both require the use of retrieved guidelines or rules as the basis or guide for behavior. (Segal and Stacy, 1975). The student may use these guidelines as the basis for various uni- and mega-processes and may use them to deal with problems identical to those studied previously.[5] The 21 uniprocesses which have been identified so far are provided in Figure 4. It is not the process or guidelines used nor the problems encountered which signify higher level learning or thinking. The criterion is that the guidelines used as the basis of the thinking or behavior must come from Long Term Memory (Ellis et al., 1979).

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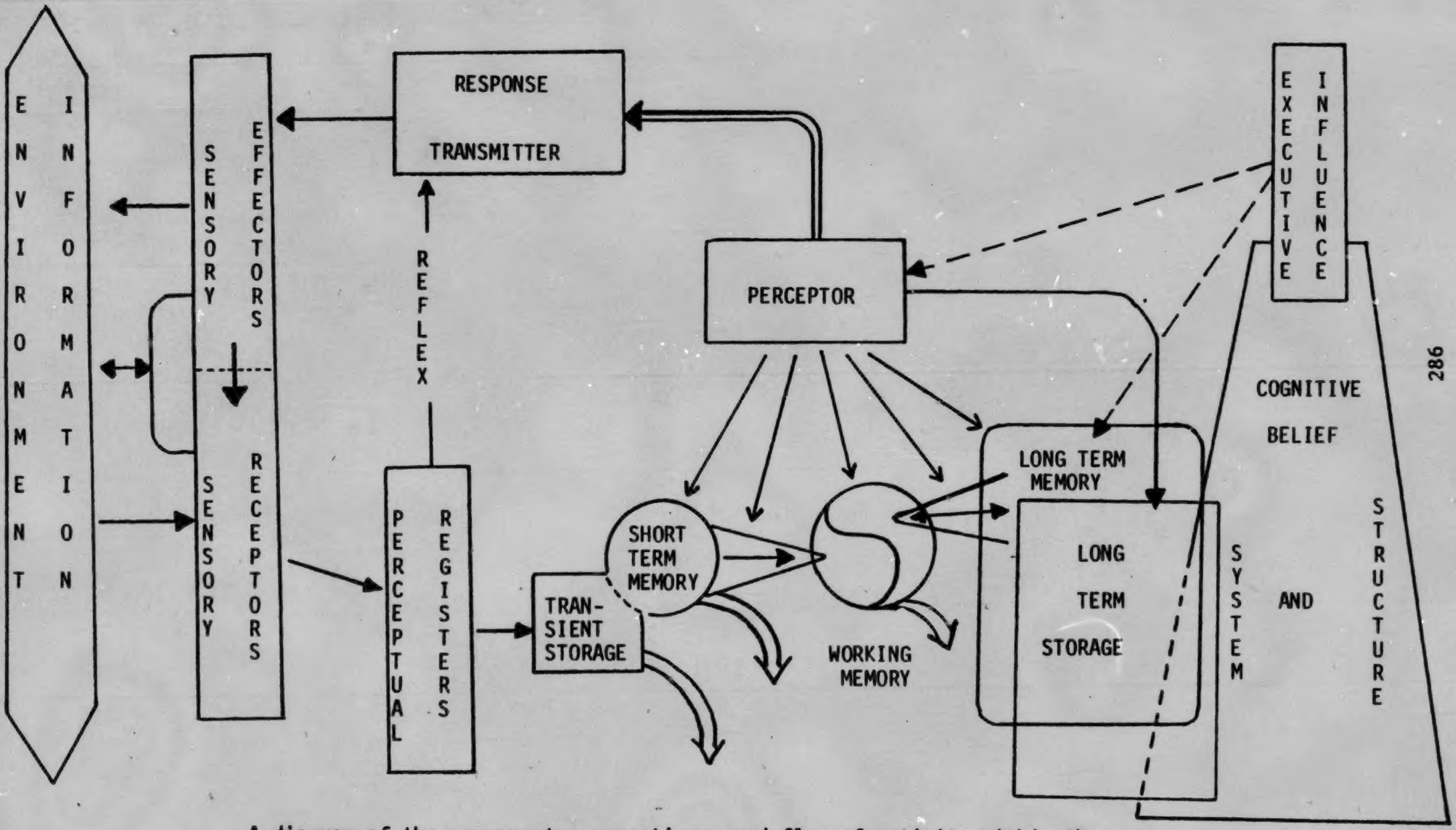
[4] It seems evident from the findings in cognitive psychology that higher level thinking and behavior is the result of using rules to guide the thinking. It is not the process which determines the guidelines or level, but rather the level one has 'learned', and internalized the rules to guide a uni- or mega-process that determines the level of one's thinking.

[5] If specific guidelines are not taught to students, then they will respond to instructional variables via their own set of guidelines which may not be what the teacher desires or expects to be used (Bandura et al., 1966; Ross, 1966; Locke, 1972).

8. Incorporation. After a set of guidelines or rules is understood so well that their use becomes automatic, the student is considered to have reached the Incorporation level for guiding thinking and behavior. Sometimes this level is evidenced by the student's ability to use a guideline or rule without being able to recall the details of which guideline was used. At some point in time, the student understands a set of guidelines and its related cues so well that it no longer becomes necessary or efficient to consciously recall the guidelines before acting upon them. In essence, the student uses the guidelines automatically as appropriate cues are presented. (The so-called "schematas" appear to be organized categories of guidelines and related cues understood on the Incorporation level).

9. Organization. This step represents the arrangement of and interrelations among the vast number of guidelines and schemata which have been internalized by the student. The exact nature of how this organization is established, occurs, or is structured is not known. Its influences on the student suggests that this organization framework is somewhat departmentalized and hierarchial in that different types of guidelines and schematas seem to have more influence (i.e., a higher priority) than do others. This framework is often referred to as one's Cognitive-Belief System.

10. Generation. This level or phase does not necessarily signify the mentally highest level of learning but seems to represent a very sophisticated mental operation not utilized by most persons. Generation represents the synthesizing of several guidelines understood as abstractions and not previously interrelated. The mere use of several combinations of guidelines (no matter how complexed) does not signify Generation.


ENVIRONMENT
INFORMATION
SENSORY EFFECTORS
SENSORY RECEPTORS
RESPONSE TRANSMITTER
REFLEX
PERCEPTUAL REGISTERS
PERCEPTOR
EXECUTIVE INFLUENCE
TRANSIENT STORAGE
SHORT TERM MEMORY
WORKING MEMORY
LONG TERM MEMORY
LONG TERM STORAGE
COGNITIVE BELIEF
SYSTEM
AND
STRUCTURE

A diagram of the components, operations, and flow of activity within the Stahl Perceptual Information Processing and Operations Model--SPInPrOM.

Figure 1.

THE DOMAIN OF COGNITION

1.00 PREPARATION

"OBSERVATION" *(Sensory input of data)*

2.00 RECEPTION
- 2.10 Acknowledgment
- 2.20 Notation
- 2.30 Declaration

3.00 TRANSFORMATION
- 3.10 Personalization
- 3.20 Adaptation

"INFORMATION ACQUISITION" *(Encoding and storage of information into Long Term Storage)*

4.00 RETENTION
- 4.10 Recognition
- 4.20 Recollection

5.00 TRANSFERSION
- 5.10 Replication
- 5.20 Variation

6.00 INCORPORATION
- 6.10 Monotation
- 6.20 Formulation
- 6.30 Assemblation

7.00 ORGANIZATION

8.00 GENERATION

Figure 2.

An outline of the major levels and sublevels of the Domain of Cognition

The Levels of the Domain of Cognition: Short Descriptors

1.0 PREPARATION (Function: Readying to receive and/or capable of accepting information)

- Students make ready to receive, attend to, or accept information
- Students are ready to receive, attend to, or accept information
- Students use cues which alert them to pay attention to upcoming experiences
- Students possess the cognitive structure to facilitate information about to be received

"OBSERVATION" (Function: Taking in and becoming aware of information and stimuli)

- Students take in information and stimuli as sensory input of data
- Students receive stimuli through their senses from external environment and sources
- Students become consciously aware of the products of their own behavior and thinking

2.0 RECEPTION (Function: Revealing what information has been taken in)

- Students minimally acknowledge information that has just been received
- Students leave some physical evidence (e.g., notes) of information recently received
- Students publically announce what information has recently been received
- Students report specific information that is currently being presented or witnessed

3.0 TRANSFORMATION (Function: Giving meaning to information that has just been received)

- Students make sense of newly received information in ways they understand it
- Students translate recently taken in information into personally meaningful information
- Students process recently received information to understand how to use it
- Students use newly received information to identify and verify its uses
- Students give meaning to the uses that have just been put to recently received information

"INFORMATION ACQUISITION" (Function: Placing information and meanings into Long Term Storage)

- Students automatically and unconsciously code recently received information and store it into Long Term Storage
- Students demonstrate tendency to store meanings given to data over the actual data itself
- Students demonstrate tendency to disregard and not store information which is not meaningful to them
- Students are able to retrieve when needed information stored in Long Term Storage

4.0 RETENTION (Function: Identifying information retrieved from Long Term Storage)

- Students remember information enough to recognize it when it is presented to them later
- Students recall and provide information they need to deal with a question, problem, etc.
- Students recall answers to who, what, when, where, and some how and why questions
- Students can remember guidelines they can use as a basis for all higher level thinking and learning

5.0 TRANSFERSION (Function: Using recalled information (guidelines) to deal with new situations)

- Students make use of recalled information to deal with situations and problems familiar to them
- Students make use of recalled information in situations new to them
- Students use recalled information with one or more processes or procedures to deal with various situations and problems
- Students practice using recalled guidelines to master their correct use

6.0 INCORPORATION (Function: Using information which has been internalized)

- Students understand information so well that it becomes an automatic and unconscious basis for their thinking
- Students use information to deal with situations without consciously being aware of what information they are using
- Students use internalized information to form new combinations and arrangements of information to deal with situations or problems.

7.0 ORGANIZATION (Function: Interrelating and prioritizing all previously understood information)

- Students form and make use of their cognitive-belief system
- Students automatically and unconsciously arrange, interrelate, and prioritize information and meanings they understand and have internalized
- Students use their cognitive-belief system to influence what information is received and what meanings it is given

8.0 GENERATION (Function: Synthesizing previous information to form new ideas and understandings)

- Students form new ideas and understandings by integrating old guidelines to thinking
- Students create new understandings and products by synthesizing (e.g., Hegel) previous understandings and information

Figure 3.

MAJOR INFORMATION UNIPROCESSES OF COGNITION

Uniprocess Name	Major function of the uniprocess
1. Association	Associating
2. Classification	Classifying
3. Combination	Combining
4. Comparison	Comparing
5. Condensation	Condensing
6. Conversion	Converting
7. Description	Describing
8. Designation	Designating
9. Discrimination	Discriminating
10. Extension	Extending
11. Extraction	Extracting
12. Interpretation	Interpreting
13. Organization	Organizing
14. Proposition	Proposing
15. Reconciliation	Reconciling
16. Selection	Selecting
17. Separation	Separating
18. Translation	Translating
19. Utilization	Utilizing
20. Valuation	Valuating
21. Verification	Verifying

Figure 4.

The major informational uniprocesses of cognition which may occur on the Transformation, Transfersion and Incorporation levels of the Domain of Cognition. These same uniprocesses in combination with one another form what might be called "megaprocesses of cognition."

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THEORETICAL DICHOTOMIES IN PRE-SCHOOL CULTURAL ENRICHMENT PROGRAMS

James Stovall
Our Lady of the Lake University

Margaret Stovall
Trinity University

This paper explores a theoretical dichotomy as it is manifested in two pre-school cultural enrichment projects. In recent years substantial efforts have been made toward helping pre-school age low-income children obtain more academic success. Two dominant viewpoints have influenced these efforts. This paper compares a cultural enrichment program based on deprivation theory with a similar program utilizing a developmental social-psychological approach. The deprivation model embraces a "culture of poverty" bias as a way of interpreting a general lack of academic achievement often associated with low-income minority students. This approach presumes a dysfunctional socio-cultural environment which results in poor academic performance. An attempt is made to provide the students with sufficient skills to enable them to transcend their immediate situation. Looking at the same phenomenon, a developmental approach is more holistic as it accepts the practical routines of home, school, and society. This approach attempts to provide the students with adaptive strategies which are culturally and socially consistent with those daily realities. This paper discusses the relative strengths and weaknesses of both approaches, focusing on their applicability and influence upon the daily lives of the students.

This paper questions the utility of deprivation concepts in the organization and implementation of cultural enrichment programs. It suggests that the culture of poverty (deprivation) approach and its attendant "solutions" is in itself dysfunctional, producing as many problems as successes. As a prerequisite for success the approach demands the construction of a self-identity that in many cases is not consistent with existing behavior. Students are often confronted with the necessity of rejecting the values of their home and community in order to see themselves as "better people". The paper suggests that the developmental approach provides a more humanistic and relevant solution to the problems faced by minority students in public schools.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF CONTEMPORARY EDUCATION

In order to fully appreciate the underlying debate and dilemma surrounding the issue of pre-school programs, certain terms should be defined and explained within historical, legal, social, and theoretical parameters. *Compensatory education*, as defined by Orr and Pulsipher (1967a:28) is:

> The process of granting the power which educational systems *can* grant in order to make persons more effective in realizing their life choices. . . This power has to do with self-image, the awareness of a range of ptions, the development of attitudes, resources and skills for job mobility and social mobility, the understanding of interrelationships in one's world, and the knowledge of how people make themselves felt politically.

The recent history of programs of the disadvantaged dates from the launching of Sputnik in the late 1950's. Social and legislative efforts were mobilized to "provide equality of opportunity for all." This so called War on Poverty of the Kennedy-Johnson era and attendant legislation; the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964 offered immediate solutions for long range goals. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 (desegregation act), the 1965 revision of the National Defense Education Act (teacher training), the Higher Education Act of 1965 (teacher education), and the Elementary and Secondary Act (ESEA) of 1964, were designed to meet the specific needs of the educationally disadvantaged. (Passow, 1968) Title I of ESA was and is directly aimed at developing educational programs to "overcome the debilitating effects of poverty". (Goff, 1968) Sec. 201 of Title I ESEA reads:

> . . . the Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance . . . to local educational agencies serving children from low income families to expand and improve their educational programs by various means (including pre-school programs) which contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived chilren.

Compensatory education has assumed many forms and incorporated many approaches, some of which include; remedial, cultural enrichment, attitude and behavior modification of children, parents, and teachers; "compensatory" civics, and pre-school programs. (Because of the nature of this study, this paper will focus only on the approaches pertaining to pre-school programs.) The theoretical and philosophical bases for compensatory education spring from two major assumptions; deprivation (cultural, social, linguistic, and educational) and difference (cultural, social and economic). The educational deprivationists argue that the "educational disadvantaged" suffer from a prejudicial school system, an indifferent staff, an unfriendly learning environment, an unyielding and unresponsive curriculum, and biased testing methods, all of which tend to create programmed retardation. (Deutsch, 1963; Hess and Shipman, 1968; Passow and Elliot, 1968; Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, 1968; Wilkerson, 1970; Ramirez and Castaneda, 1974; Angel, 1975)

The social deprivationists contend that early experiences and environmental factors curtail "normal" development. Normal in most instances refers to a middle-class standard of achievement, success, behavior, etc. (Riessman, 1962; Clark, 1962; Deutsch, 1963; Passow and Elliot, 1968) Deprivation theory in the United States has been solidly based on the research of Bernstein (1972) contrasting language repertory and codes in lower and middle class children in England

Those who favor a "difference" hypothesis view the "disadvantaged child" as needing assistance in developing. . .

> on the basis of his psychological, genetic, and social needs. Whether the child is culturally different or has suffered deprivation due to poverty is not particularly relevant since meeting his developmental needs will automatically take care of these factors. (Angel, 1975:30)

This group tends to accept and support inherent strengths (cultural and social) of the disadvantaged (Clarke, Fantini and Weinstein, 1968; Baratz, 1970; Lewis, 1970; Wilkerson, 1970; Valentine, 1971; Bernstein, 1972; Ginsburg, 1972; Seitz, 1977)

> Disadvantaged refers to those children suffering from cultural and economic depviration that does not attune one to the demands and opportunities of modern life. (Passow and Elliot, 1968:3)

Wilkerson (1970:3) defines the disadvantaged as . . . "children of the poor. This condition of poverty is the stark reality behind such preferred euphemisms as 'social disadvantaged' and 'culturally deprived.'"

This notion of poverty and an impoverished environment as originally developed by Oscar Lewis (1966) and others has been utilized by educators in an attempt to defend the futility of breaking the cycle of a "culture of poverty". Ogbu (1978) rejects this defense with his definition and explanation of the "caste-like" minority status of the disadvantaged in the United States. His solution would be an elimination of caste barriers through social change. Negative self attitudes and perceptions as indicated in Passows list of characteristics (see below) should be eliminated.

The disadvantaged are described with a varied nomenclature depending on the particular theoretical bias and background of the researcher/author. Some terms such as "culturally deprived," "socially disadvantaged," "underachiever," and "educationally deficit" reflect value judgements of a group "lacking in culture." Other terms are imbued with a distinct ethnic and racial overtone; "inner-city child," "slum dweller," "minority pupil," "ghetto youth," "in-migrant."

Manifestations of "disadvantaged" behavior include; underachievement, school retardation, and eventually school dropouts. Again the causes of such behavior are attributed to poverty, segregation and/or discrimination, lack of opportunity, discontinuities with the "dominant" culture; a deficit explanation. Others would adhere to the "different" hypothesis (different life-style, child-rearing practices) mentioned above as an explanation for "disadvantaged" behavior.

Passow, through blending studies and descriptions of the disadvantaged, has developed a composite deficit portrait of the characteristics of the group.

a. Language inadequacies, relating to vocabulary and syntactical structures: inability to handle abstract symbols and complex language forms, both in interpretation and communication; difficulties in developing and maintaining verbal thought sequences; restricted verbal comprehension.

b. Unfamiliarity with formal speech patterns; dialects setting them apart from the mainstream; standard English as a second language.

c. Visual and perceptual deficiencies, including problems of spatial organization and lateral orientation.

d. A mode of expression which tends to be more motivated and concrete, rather than conceptual and idea symbol-focused.

e. An orientation to life that seeks immediate gratification in the here-and-now rather than ability to delay for future advantage.

f. A low self-image, denigrating one's potential both as a person and as a learner.

g. Modest aspirations and low motivation to achieve those academic goals which the school rewards; apathy and detachment from formal education.

h. Limited role-behavior skills and inadequate or improper adult models.

i. Restricted attention span and general inability to cope with the demands and expectations of the school program and personnel. (1970:37)

This list is included for later reference in the discussion of solutions and strategies. The reader should also refer to the list in the discussion and descriptions of two current pre-school programs in San Antonio.

Lindfors views the "inadequacies" previously described by Passow as deprivation myths which have infiltrated pedagogical theory.

> It is important to consider these myths . . . One group has to do with the child's language; another group has to do with the child's cultural background; a third groups has to do with the child's cognitive abilities. But all three groups share a common basic assumption: they all see the child and his background as deficient. (Lindfors, 1979:588)

STRATEGIES AND SOLUTIONS

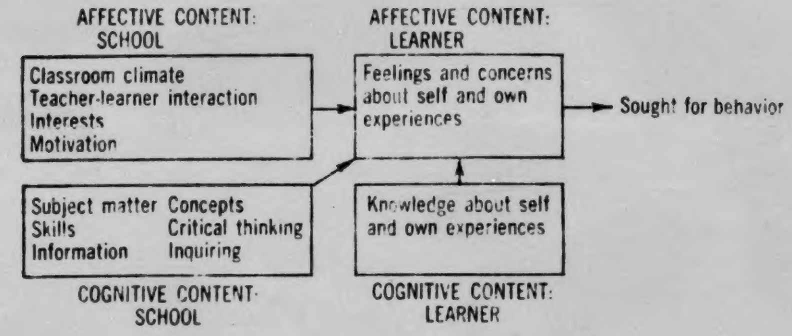
As indicated above, education for the disadvantated has taken many different forms since being jolted into existence by Sputnik. Whether pre-school, early childhood, remedial, or compensatory; conducted in schools, churches, storefronts or in apartment houses; lasting for the Summer, after school or the year round; most programs contain some "indication of the hypothesis or theoretical bases underlying the proposed intervention or treatment." (Passow, 1972:12) Intervention might take the form of changing; child-rearing practices, attitudes of mothers toward school and authority figures, verbal interaction between mother and child, and role expectations for the child. (Deutsch, 1963; Bloom, et al., 1965; Orr and Pulsipher, 1967a; Hess and Shipman, 1968)

Passow (1972) in a review of urban programs found striking similarities among the suggested strategies. Fantini and Young (1970) delineated six strategies or options for improving education for the disadvantaged:

a. Compensatory education
b. Desegregation
c. Model subsystems and experimental units
d. Parallel systems; private schools in the ghetto

e. Total system reform
f. New system developments

Janowitz (1969) specified early education and intervention through "parenting" training, emphasis on child mental health, and specialization of personnel and techniques in the school. Miller and Robey (1970) added compensatory socialization for the child and his family and local community control of schools as preferred strategies. The recommendations of the H.E.W. Urban Education Task Force (1970) emphasized increased funding and expansion of the concept of urban education as well as community determination and improved assessment of programs. Fantini and Weinstein were more concerned with "matching strategies and content to the numerous descriptions of the disadvantaged learner". (1968:21) Their emphasis was on developing, orienting and adjusting the institution to the learner while utilizing to the fullest extent the cognitive and affective content of the learner.


AFFECTIVE CONTENT: SCHOOL
Classroom climate
Teacher-learner interaction
Interests
Motivation
AFFECTIVE CONTENT: LEARNER
Feelings and concerns about self and own experiences
Sought for behavior
Subject matter
Skills
Information
Concepts
Critical thinking
Inquiring
Knowledge about self and own experiences
COGNITIVE CONTENT: SCHOOL
COGNITIVE CONTENT: LEARNER

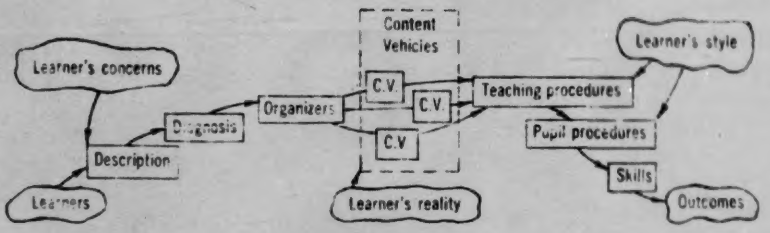
(Fantini and Weinstein, 1968:31)

They maintained that learning is relevant:

1) When the teaching procedures match the learning style of the youngster.

2) When the content vehicles are related to or coincident with the learner's reality or learner's content.

3) When the content vehicles and teaching procedures deal in some way with the affective concerns of the learner.



(Fantini and Weinstein, 1968:34)

Ramirez and Castaneda (1974) refined this notion with their theories on the varieties of cognitive styles in different ethnic groups.

Several researchers encourage an ethnographic approach in planning for the education of the urban poor stating that proposals and programs should be based on valid information from and about the community, their behavior, language, attitudes, and motivation. The teacher or researcher would serve as change agent and action advocate. (Orr and Pulsipher, 1968; Lewis, 1970; Foley and White, 1977)

CRITICISMS

The reviews and evaluations of compensatory education have not been favorable. Despite the huge sums of money appropriate and expended in private and public sectors, "the nation's urban schools continue to operate in a vortex of segregation, alienation, and declining achievement." (Passow, 1972)

Rebuttals and refutations of compensatory education based on deficit theory were evident from the inception of remedial programs. Labov particularly addressed deficit theory regarding verbal deprivation as part of "the modern mythology of educational psychology." He noted the myth of verbal deprivation as particularly dengerous "because it diverts the attention from real defects of our educational system to imaginary defects of the child." (Labov, 1969:60)

A series of celebrated, widely-circulated, and read reports dating from the 1960's paint a dismal picture of the recent history of these educational programs. (Coleman Report, 1966, Commission on Civil Rights, 1967; Kerner Commission Report, 1968; Urban America and Urban Coalition, 1969; H.E.W. Urban Education Task Force, 1970) Perhaps the most devastating report to the enthuasistic momentum of supporters of compensatory education was the Westinghouse-Ohio University National Evaluation of Head Start Programs. It was reported that Summer programs alone produced neither cognitive nor affective gains which persisted through the elementary grades. Year round programs had a marginal effect on gains. (Cicirelli, 1969) Although a review of the data by Smith and Bissell showed more positive results, confidence in the program and procedures was damaged. Wolf and Stein and the United States Civil Rights Commission reported the same findings in 1966 and 1967. Much of the blame for ineffectual programs and poor results has been placed on program organization, curriculum, and administration. Wilkerson critiques current trends in compensatory education as not new; "they are simply rare in schools serving the children of the poor." (1970) Goldberg attributes the lack of success to evaluation procedures. She discusses seven basic problems in realizing a systematic and comprehensive evaluation. Among these problems she notes a lack of clear objectives, pressure for immediate solutions, and ineffectual assessment procedures. (Goldberg, 1968)

A definite blow to the basic rationale for compensatory education is contained in an article by Bernstein, in which he criticizes and rejects the concept of compensatory education. He maintains that compensatory education directs attention away from the internal organization and the educational context of the school and focuses instead on presumed deficiencies in families and children. He explains that his earlier studies had been misinterpreted and had contributed to the concept of compensatory socialization. He states that "low-income children are not linguistically deprived or non-verbal, but rather, are oriented differently toward receiving and offering universalistic meanings in certain contexts." (Bernstein, 1972:70)

Wadsworth, in a review of Piagetian theory of cognitive development, cites two authorities on Piaget who suggest that early intervention may not be helpful. Elkind states that

> the Piagetian conception of intelligence provides no support either for those who advocate formal preschool instruction or for those who argue for new methods and materials to stimulate intrinsic motivation. (Wadsworth, 1971:132)

He cites Kohlberg with a similar opinion.

> ...the Piaget approach does not generate great optimism as to the possibility of preschool acceleration of cognitive development (or of compensation for its retardation) nor does it lead to a rationale in which such acceleration (or compensation) is especially critical during the preschool years. (Ibid.)

Lindfors questions the continuing existence of deficit theory on the basis of present knowledge about the child's language abilities and strategies for further developing communicative competence. She states that "in the face of this knowledge, it seems remarkable that the deficit approach has managed to survive, let alone thrive." (Lindfors, 1979:598)

Deficit theory is again attacked by Wilkerson:

> Although it is probably true that for most children, primary socialization under conditions of poverty and discrimination does not facilitate academic achievement, there is no clear evidence that it precludes academic achievement, indeed there is some evidence to the contrary. Furthermore, the concurrence of social condition, child characteristics, and poor school performance shows only the correlation of these phenomena; it does not necessarily support the deficit-causation hypothesis leading to a preoccupation with diagnosing what is "wrong" with the disadvantaged child. The more critical target of change may be elsewhere. (Wilkerson, 1970:10)

More attention has been focused on the school environment as a possible cause for academic retardation and the Jekyll-Hyde transformation of students from grade 1 to grade 4 or junior high. (Passow, 1970; Wilkerson, 1970; Valentine, 1971; Phillips, 1972)

ANALYSIS OF TWO PRE-SCHOOL PROGRAMS IN SAN ANTONIO

The two programs selected for study are located in a predominantly lower socio-economic Mexican-American neighborhood within two blocks of each other. The majority of the families are Spanish dominant, work in semi-skilled jobs, are fairly transient, and live with or near the extended family. Many, however, own their modest homes. The projects are located on the edge or within the boundaries of two school districts with heavy Mexican-American populations. The two projects were selected because of the nature of the programs - pre-school; their philosophical nature - intervention through parenting and compensatory socialization based on deficit theory; funding - private and public; and duration of project. Interviews and observations were conducted on-site during a two month period. Unfortunately permission to interview parents and students was never granted.

BARRIO CENTER

The Barrio Center originated some five years ago as an emergency measure during a diptheria epidemic in the city. The executive director of the Center, a registered nurse, recognized the need for a comprehensive health center in the barrio to provide immunization and primary health care. An HEW grant established the Center with funding for one year. Since that time funds have been allocated from the Hogg Foundation and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. The latter two grants were made available to improve mental and physical health facilities and primary health care delivery.

The Center is staffed with bilingual personnel except for the business manager. The majority of the staff are from the immediate community. The Executive Director is a registered nurse, responsible to a board composed of community members; the Director of Programs administers and supervises the educational programs as well as referring children to more specialized services available in the city; the Coordinator of the pre-school program trains grandmothers and senior citizens in stimulation exercises to use with the mothers and children; a family nurse practitioner is available every day and a doctor visits the Center one day a week. The atmosphere at the Center is casual, informal, but courteous. A Community Health Aids Program assists with emergency care, food, housing and food stamps.

In the Summer of 1977, families in the area were interviewed to determine willingness to participate in the early childhood program. Children were tested for developmental and linguistic lags (Denver Developmental Screening Test) and proposed for admission into the program. Forty-two or one-half of the children from ages three to five were chosen to participate. No formal needs assessment was conducted. The Director and immediate staff had determined through observation and informal consultation with the mothers that some small children (ages two to four) seemed not to be developing linguistically or cognitively as possible. They attributed this "lag" to lack of verbal stimulation and poor socialization in the home. Grandmothers and Senior Citizens were recruited to serve as home-bound teachers in the Abuelita program to demonstrate and instruct the mothers in certain strategies designed to increase verbal fluency. The "abuelitas" visit in the home twice a week for an hour and a half; once to teach the particular lesson and the next time to check on the mother's progress with the child. A preschool program located at the Center provides half-day sessions for forty-two children. The classes conducted in Spanish have objectives clearly designed to develop adaptive strategies and behaviors for the children to use on entering a "middle-class" elementary school. Children are taught confidence, to have a positive self-image, and to have a positive attitude toward learning. They are taught basic classroom routines and behaviors; how to manipulate pencils, crayons, scissors, and how to "behave" in class. One comment about a "graduate" of the school was that she appeared to be very bright because she had already attained these basic behaviors before entering the elementary school and therefore was considered "not disadvantaged." No formal follow-up of the children has been planned for lack of funds and staff.

EVALUATION

The intentions of the Center are excellent, but certain deficiencies are immediately recognizable. The service model attitude of the Center is too all inclusive for the experience and background of the staff. A high attrition rate among the staff is due to low salary and certain working conditions plus lack of sufficient training. The curriculum presented for the pre-school program has no specific scope and sequence or theoretical base. The teaching material is either totally accepted or totally rejected by the teaching staff without adaptation for individual differences. The use of the "abuelitas" or Senior Citizens is questionable on the basis of their lack of training and/or literacy. A definite plus is the use of an older generation in the socialization process of young children. However, some cultural minuses have been noted. Grandmothers were teaching inappropriate or outdated gestures to the children. Several "abuelitas" who did not fully understand their role spent their time "visiting" with the mothers over coffee. Some mothers viewed the home visits as in intrusion. Also questioned is the administration of the Denver test, regarded by some as inappropriate for this culture. The staff has not received adequate instruction on administering and scoring the test or in interpreting the test results.

The future of the Center is in doubt because of the funding situation (funding has not been renewed). In an effort to continue the work of the Center and to receive more financial assistance, the Director has changed focus several times, insisting that she "knows best for her community". The major problems seem to be in concentrating on one specific goal for the Center, acquiring adequately trained staff, and obtaining sufficient funding. The attitude of the Center toward the target population is positive, although interventionist. Care is taken not to mention negative terms such as retarded, deprived, or disadvantaged with the families.

PROJECT NINO

Project Nino is a comprehensive three-year pre-school program funded by Title I initiated in August, 1978. Three school sites with different ethnic make-up are involved: Blacks, lower socio-economic status Mexican-Americans, and lower middle-class Mexican-Americans. This study will deal with only one of the sites which is located near the Barrio Center.

The general purposes of the project as delineated in the project proposal are the following:

> To provide oral language experiences and development for the young child during his/her formative stages of developing language patterns.
>
> To assist and provide the parent with techniques and meaningful reinforcement.
>
> To provide them with basic language skills needed for smooth school adjustment and academic success.

To be considered for participation in the project a child must be three years old, a resident of the school district, be documented as a high risk in oral language development and have a low rating on the Bayley Scale of Infant Development.

The program is administered through a maze of public school bureaucracy: Deputy Superintendent in charge of Special Programs; Director of Academic Programs; Area Superintendent; Project Coordinator; Principal; Teacher and teacher aides. Two teachers and an aide are based in each of the three sites. Six nurse practitioners spend time at each of the sites. Each teacher has a pupil load of fifteen. She is expected to make two visits per week; one instructional and one follow-up. Extensive notes on each visit are maintained by each teacher as well as a complete description of the lessons taught, reviewed, and anticipated.

An assessment of need was conducted in the Spring of 1978. The results of the Metropolitan Readiness Test Scores for the three schools indicated that "the majority of children entering kindergarten and first grade are performing in the lowest one third of the score range. Such low scores on a nationally normed test indicate that the children are coming to school from backgrounds which have not provided them with the skills needed for academic success." An estimate of "educationally deprived" children per grade level was acquired and a projected pre-school population was determined. Specific children and families were identified through school records, an immunization project for pre-schoolers and infants conducted at the project sites, personal contact, and observation. Flyers explaining the program were distributed by mail and posted throughout the community.

On acceptance into the program, children are given the Ball Developmental Screening Test which yields gross lags in language development, communication, social, self-help, and motor skills. A medical evaluation is administered at the same time. Children with obvious cognitive or physical problems are referred to specialized personnel in other district programs. The children will be evaluated again at the end of the first year, and on completion of kindergarten. Project children will serve as an experimental group and are expected to score at least two stanines above the control group on the Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test and to maintain at least a 50% higher attendance record.

The long range objectives of the project provide for teacher in-service training, development of relevant materials and methods, development of a model program capable of being replicated within the district.

EVALUATION

Project Nino is a duplication of prior Head-Start type, intervention compensatory socialization programs. Children are labeled before entering the program. There is no evidence of school reform, reorganization or adaption of the school to the child's needs. All preparation is made in order to insure a "smooth adjustment" into a middle-class oriented educational environment. There is no apparent coordination with existing bilingual instruction. All pre-school programs insist on developing English oral language skills even when the child is Spanish dominant. This poses a problem when mothers are Spanish dominant yet expected to implement lessons structured in English. Teachers do not have adequate training in language acquisition or in cognitive development. Their materials are teacher-made and are lacking in guidelines or a systematic approach to achieving the objectives of the project.

PROYECTO PRE-KINDER

This Title VII funded project was mentioned in interviews with the Project Nino coordinator. It is school-center based with parents serving as instructors and peer teachers to other mothers. An instructional supervisor demonstrates the lesson using commercially prepared materials in kit form. The mother-instructor in turn makes home visits as in Project Niño. No other information was available about this project.

CONCLUSIONS

After spending two months observing, interviewing, and reviewing the two projects, we were left somewhat dismayed by the lack of innovation in the programs. Equally depressing was the realization that deficit theory is alive and well, only thinly camouflaged by rhetoric. No attempts in true school reform were apparent either in philosophy or organization. There was no evidence of matching the child's cognitive styles with methodological styles. All efforts were either adaptive, teaching specific attitudes and behaviors in order to facilitate entry into middle-class schools, as in the case of the Barrio Center, or eradicative, ignoring the child's first language, as in Project Nino. Compensatory education has succeeded in fulfilling its prophecy for the "disadvantaged" child. Social attitudes have not changed expectations for these programs. Although the teachers, directors, principals, and other personnel interviewed all disclaimed deficit theory, they did view the children as "linguistically delayed due to a lack of verbal stimulation", "economically disadvantaged", "culturally disadvantaged", or as "performance oriented". Admission in the Title I project was based on socio-economic status (low), a family history of failures, on home language and absenteeism rates of older children.

We recommend the following changes in compensatory education. We agree with Ogbu that there is a caste-like system which can only be eradicated through soci-economic change. Consequently, we feel that existing compensatory programs in Texas and in the Southwest (and, indeed, in the entire welfare state establishment) perpetuates structural inequality and should therefore be abolished. Two, in view of the fact that practical realities preclude the destruction of the welfare establishment, we, therefore, recommend that compensatory education programs to completement rather than denigrate existing soci-ecultural patterns. We recognize that any compensatory education program begins a labelling process whereby clients are socialized into a caste position commonly known as "disadvantaged student". In order to counteract this ongoing labelling process, we recommend that future programs be organized around operational schemes that emphasize cultural specific self-identifying behavior. Such changes require a modification of existing programs not necessarily the creation of new ones. We should also keep in mind that the problems inherent in compensatory education originate as much with those seeking to supply lacking skills as those with those attempting to learn those skills. We need to ask ourselves as Lindfors does, "Why these mistaken language, culture, and cognitive deficiency notions persist and even serve as the basis of some educational programs." (Lindfors, 1979:601)

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ORIGINS OF COLLOQUIAL SPANISH FOR HEALTH CARE SETTINGS

John T. Webb
University of Iowa

In the current issue of a major journal, two professionals describe their dedication to helping others; they decided to spend their joint sabbatical offering free health care to Spanish-speaking migrants, agricultural workers. "To prepare ourselves for our new job, we studied Spanish and read a great deal about the migrant culture and economics."[1] Some students, of language and/or of health care, might not find such preparation professionally adequate, but these two people reported: "We didn't have a language problem--our Spanish helped. But the children were an even bigger help. They were bilingual and made marvelous interpreters."[2] Perhaps here we face even greater inadequacy, because many bicultural persons will realize that the potential shame of having a child see adult family members humiliated might destroy the possibility of meaningful communication.[3]

Now, meaningful communication is relative, as a concept. We must go beyond the fact that no message is ever completely received, to be concerned with the lay or professional person's optimal reception of needed information. We must be aware that many students have been concerned about communication within one's own language. For instance, one Mexican physician, a specialist in family practice, dedicated an entire book to improving understanding of communicative form and content. Dr. Padrón, in El médico y el folklore,[4] repeatedly points out the importance of making oneself understood, and of understanding, and how difficult this can be even for the Spanish-speaking physician working in his own community. Recently, the critical nature of this potential problem was reemphasized in the Journal of the American Medical Association; Morgan Martin not only called attention to the overt situation ("It is not that the medical man's English is especially bad, but that it is especially important for it to be good."), but also stated what few are willing to state:

> The physician, engaged like the poet in apprehending delicate sentiments, will avail himself of metaphors and listen for them in his patient. ...language [is] a magical instrument, a means of incantation, or a ritual to give power over reality and show its true nature. This notion of words, antique though it be, is appropriate for the physician. He is, after all, still engaged in solving mysteries of life and disease in manners sometimes akin to divination.[5]

In the immediacy of the medical situation, most of us might not be concerned, or want to be, with the "mysteries of life" or with poetics. And yet, consciously or unconsciously, we choose the form and content of our message. We cannot help but be aware, selecting specific areas of language.

> By speaking the other's language, we show him respect, We may imply that we speak it better than he speaks ours, we may hope to make a more favorable impression (as in a court of law), we may show that we understand and sympathize with not just his language but his way of life. ...Discussion of intimate, painful, or sexual matters leaves no room for clumsiness or crudity. One has to find, one painfully learns, the slang and casual expressions both in one's own language and in a foreign one, not the same for a 15-year-old as for a 30-year-old, not the same for a boy as for a girl.[6]

As we reflect on such concerns, it is necessary to keep in mind that the professional, too, may talk "down" or "up"; that theory and methodology meant for majority use may not serve for a minority; that intimate disclosures may..."come out with feeling more easily in the first language and that the language acquired later and outside the home may be used as a screen."[7] Additionally, people not raised in a Spanish-language community may not realize how social identification and language can be related to each other in special ways.

In the United States, the health professional is, more often than not, an outsider, not a member of the patient's immediate family, extended family, barrio, or community of Spanish-speakers, who recognize each other. Even when the professional is a Spanish-speaker, even of the same ethnicity or heritage, he or she represents the uncontrollable establishment of the "outside" world, and thus a potential threat from the first point of contact. The patient must be recognized as a person who has bravely decided, or whose family has decided, to face the unknown dominant society in seeking help. At best, most Spanish-speakers realize that it is unwise to "bother" outsiders. The resultant timidity may be masked, but the attitude is most often there: by consulting with an outsider, the patient is exposed to the risk of being isolated from "home" (no matter how wretched that may be), tantamount, psychologically, to "death" of part of the person.[8] We cannot be surprised that the patient feels prevented from functioning in the community's prescribed ways. We cannot be surprised that the patient already may have consulted with a folk healer who is also a member of his community, a healer who understands his language (so to speak).

Under such circumstances, then, the Spanish-speaking patient may quite understandably find it necessary to adjust attitudes toward language. English, no matter how well known, may become more difficult to produce or receive. The health care setting, often seen as unavoidably formal, adds strangeness to constraints on speech. Therefore, even in Spanish, what normally would be considered undesirable in a formal setting suddenly may appear without humor, as perfectly suitable for communicating in respect for, and in defiance of, authority. The representative of health care delivery, and his or her interpreter, has the responsibility to find the message, beyond its phenomena, words, trappings--and to respond in kind, whenever possible. Communication may be lost, otherwise.

The professional must keep technically accurate records, be able to clarify procedures in everyday language, and be wary, now-a-days, of being accused of malpractice. A release form for surgery, for example, must explain a situation in simple language, yet also define, in medical terms. In *either* direction, messages may be misinterpreted. This examination may *sound* too academic, but a look at some living language may illustrate its validity. Any fluent speaker could understand the following sentence, and would realize it might be intended or received in many ways, from light-hearted fun to a vicious threat to one's very existence:

"Lo quito de padecer: lo caso, y lo coloco en
LOQUITO LOCAZO LOCO LOCO

la Hacienda del Ocote"[9]
LOCOTE

The overt gloss in standard Mexican Spanish: 'I'll put/get him/you out of [his/your] misery, marry him/you off, put him/you on the Hacienda of the Bamboo'. The indirect message might be 'crazy every which way', and might be applied to me for analyzing what I'm analyzing...and someone's opinion might be based on such a judgment...perhaps a critical opinion.

Many people feel uneasy in a setting that includes a health professional, even in their own language, their own register, their own lexicon, or their own sex. The danger of exposing oneself, losing control of oneself, of possibly being separated from the known and removed to the unknown, may well be reflected in speech production that changes euphemism to dysphemism, formal to informal, or other aberrations in sensitivity and sensibility. The health professional, in turn, may well wish to impress the lay person, may imperfectly understand the medical situation or the vocabulary, or may underestimate the ability of the uninitiated to grasp adequately what needs to be known. The results can be very interesting.

Sarampión is the standard word of 'measles', but synonyms include international Spanish's *alfombrilla* 'rug; little rug', which can also denote 'German measles' or 'rubeola', 'smallpox' or 'variola', and 'scarlet fever' or 'scarlatina', as well as, in general, a 'red rash'. By extension, *tapetillo* 'small rug' may denote 'measles' if and when it is modified as being a disease of children (and this is frequently considered the disease most typical in attacking children: "sólo le pega a los niños"); therefore, *tapetillo de los niños*, and the popular blend *sarampillo*. Standard Spanish *granuja* 'loose grapes; grape seed; urchin, ragamuffin, rogue' may be seen as having a third-party semantic connection through 'child', and in folk etymology may be analyzed as consisting of standard *grano* 'pimple' spot on a human', with a prejorative suffix, thus acquiring additional popular glosses of 'measles' or 'scarlet fever'. *Záhuatl*, 'contagious (eruptive) disease' in the Náhuatl language, may specify 'measles' in its Hispanicized pronunciation, /sawáte/, as also can standard Spanish *sarpullido con calentura* 'rash with fever'. *Hervor de sangre* 'boiling of [the] blood' can denote 'measles', 'scarlet fever', and 'nettlerash'. In all of these cases, the common red rash is often believed to be incapacitated (*insolvido*) by a red light, or a light covered with a red material, or can be spread, carpet-like, by a consequently shunned white light (particularly by a bare bulb).[10] Because implications of the use of such language are generally understood by folk healers, and often are *not* by establishment-licensed professionals, the lay patient and his family may very well avoid hospital, clinic, or even home-visiting nurse, perhaps especially when he sees that even the words are not adequately apprehended, and that *his* perception of his own illness needs to be seen within the context of his own culture and society.[11]

Folk belief and misunderstanding are not limited to the lay person. Because of the taboo nature of the examination, and of the lack of understanding of the procedure from beginning to end, the famous "Pap smear" has been variously translated by professionals fluent in Spanish, into such as *frotis* 'smear' (a learned term often interpreted popularly as *frote* 'rub'), *muestra* 'specimen', *prueba* 'test', or *unto* 'ointment'. If the patient perceives such confusion "even" among professionals, she cannot be blamed if she prefers to not let "it all hang out", prefers to express non-physical problems in terms of physical symptoms, to be wary of excessive kindness as well as of hostility--for she must guard the self as well as what is confided.[12]

Obviously, the professional has more experience, and is more at ease, in a health care setting. He or she therefore has more responsibility than the patient to find the clearest explanation. A recommended way to get to that point is by *expressing*--slowly, carefully, courteously--and asking, repeating the patient's own words, *for explanation*, letting the patient finish what he needs to say.[13] The professional may *never* be satisfied that he or she has reached adequate understanding of what is desired by some: various registers of both Spanish and English, blending of the two, sayings, jokes, ...or avoidance of imposing the "noble savage" label on the patient.[14] However, we *can* all make an effort, even when we have too great a workload, and not enough time. We can remember that a "word to the wise" may not be sufficient. Some Spanish-speakers might say: "A palabras locas, razones cortas".

FOOTNOTES

[1] Becker, Gayle, and Eloise Clarke, quoted in "Nurse's Notebook" of *Nursing 79* [Doris Rossman] (Horsham, Pennsylvania: Intermed Communications), April 1979, p. 100.

[2] Ibid., pp. 100 and 102.

[3] Aguilar, Ignacio, in his "Initial Contacts with Mexican-American Families", *Social Work*, May 1972, p. 70.

[4] Padrón Puyou, Francisco. *El médico y el folklore*. San Luis Potosí [Mexico]: Talleres Gráficos de la Editorial Universitaria, 1956.

[5] Martin, Morgan, in his "Healthy Respect for the Word", *JAMA*, 239 (#26).2777 (1978).

[6] Emanuel, Elliott, in his "Bilingual?", [Canadian Medical Association] *CMA Journal*, 116.305 (1977).

[7] Ibid.

[8] Aguilar, Ignacio, and Virginia N. Wood, in the "Therapy Through a Death Ritual" in *Social Work*, January 1976, pp. 50-51.

[9] Padrón, p. 79.

[10] Padrón, passim.

[11] Aguilar, 1972, p. 70.

[12] Aguilar, 1972, p. 68.

[13] Eggland, Ellen Thomas; "Do's and Don'ts in Interviewing" in her "How to Take a Meaningful Nursing History" in *Nursing 77*, July 1977, p. 28.

[14] Boulette, Teresa Ramírez, in her "Group Therapy with Low-Income Mexican Americans" in *Social Work*, September 1975, p. 404.

READING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE: A SYNOPSIS OF ACTIVITIES

Sara Rogers and Michael Haltresht
Corpus Christi State University

THE INEFFECTUAL TRADITIONAL APPROACH

The ineffectual traditional approach introduces the student to ESL through reading even when he has no prior listening or speaking experience in English. In most cases, the traditional approach provides little listening or speaking experience after the student learns to read. The results are: (1) poor listening and speaking abilities; (2) an atrocious accent; (3) sometimes, loss of interest in English, which the student perceives as a dead language that exists only in books.

The traditional procedure is appropriate when the learner needs only to read English--the case, for instance, of a Frenchman who merely needs to read scientific literature in English. On the other hand, for learners who expect to live in an English-speaking environment, the following synopsis outlines the proper procedure.

OVERVIEW: THE PHASES

Below is a bird's-eye view of the phases of an ESL program in reading. The phases will be discussed in detail after the overview.

1. Reading sentences that have been orally mastered.
2. Reading words within these sentences.
3. Building up a repertory of sight words.
4. Learning sound-symbol correspondences (phonics).
5. Reading new combinations of familiar letters, words, and sentences.
6. Reading paragraphs and short passages, inferring the meanings of new words, processing information efficiently, and comprehending structure signals.
7. The formation of reading groups, in accordance with ability and interests, for the purpose of handling the extensive reading.
8. The introduction of literature: first poetry, then short stories and plays, then longer prose works.
9. Effective independent reading in all areas.

THE INITIAL STEPS

1. Engage the class in listening-and-speaking activities, using for your materials stories and experience charts dictated by the students. This completely aural-oral phase may take as long as two years with six year olds; six months with children between six and twelve; and several weeks, days, or perhaps just hours with literate adults.

2. Engage in reading-readiness activities if the learners are not literate. With little children, this means the playing of logic games, classification activities, and exercises designed to improve visual and auditory discrimination and eye-hand coordination. In the case of children, this phase also involves story-telling, to whet the pupil's interest in imaginative literature. Readiness for reading should be ascertained subsequently through each of the phases.

3. Teach the class to read some simple passage or dialogue on a transparency, a wall chart, the blackboard, or flash cards, accompanied by pictures. Follow this sequence: (a) motivate; (b) state aim; (c) set the situation; (d) read the material aloud yourself or with the assistance of an aide; (e) clear up the lexical, grammatical, and cultural difficulties; (f) read again and have the students repeat after you, first the whole class, then in groups, then as individuals; (g) read again, and have the class read with you, first complete sentences, then individual words within the sentences--first with visual supports, then without them; (h) do some role-playing (teacher-class, class-teacher, group A with group B, student A with student B); (i) engage in questions and answers, conversations, study of grammar (for instance, transformations from present into past, language games, and dictation); (j) prepare the class for the next lesson. Of course, your presentation should be accompanied with appropriate animated gestures, facial expressions, and actions. Use visual supports (concrete objects, drawings, posters, etc.) as much as possible.

4. Rearrange the sentences and have the students read them. Also, present the students with the individual words on cue cards and have the pupils identify the words and use the cards to re-form the original sentences ("book this a is" —— "This is a book"). Use pocket charts, flannel boards, magnetic boards, easels, or the ledge of the blackboard to support the cue cards.

NEW SENTENCES WITH FAMILIAR WORDS

5. Add words gradually to the sentences formed with the cue cards (e.g., "This is a blue book").

6. Have the students rearrange the words to generate transformed sentences (e.g., "This is a blue book", "This book is blue").

7. In this way, go through all the materials previously taught orally ("The blue book is under the chair").

8. After the introduction of a fair number of sight words, move on to the phonics of English. Teach the students sound-symbol correspondences, beginning with the regularly spelled words (e.g., "b" + "oo" + "k" = "book") in phonetically controlled readers. At this point, teach not the names of letter ("see" "ei" "tee") but their usual sounds ("k" + "a" + "t" = "cat"). (Remember to teach punctuation signs, too.) With illiterates, present first a series of words that differ only in the

initial consonant ("bat", "cat", "fat", "mat", "rat", "sat"). Having thus taught the single consonants, use the minimal-pair technique to teach the vowels: the other short vowels first ("hop"), then the long vowels ("hope", "rate"), the digraphs ("meet", "room", "train"), then the silent vowels ("boat", "read"). Then teach the intervocalic and final consonants, the consonant blends, and silent consonants ("know"). The procedure in teaching the individual letter is to (1) have students read words that contain the target letter-sound correspondence; (2) elicit the rule (the correspondence); (3) have students name other words that illustrate the rule; (4) have the students read new words that demonstrate the rule.

UNDERSTANDING SENTENCES

9. Write or project a command ("Please raise your hand") and have the student(s) carry it out to indicate comprehension, or write (project) a question and have the student(s) answer it orally.

10. Have students practice by reading aloud in the laboratory (the students read the sentence in the workbook and then hear the sentence on tape, by way of feedback).

11. If your students are illiterate adults, teach them, without delay, to read those items they will need in their daily lives (for instance, signs like "Exit" and "Entrance").

INTENSIVE READING IN CLASS

12. When students can read aloud, select materials suited for them, such as easy-reading anthologies like the *Reader's Digest Reading Skill Builder* series (Pleasantville, N.Y.: Reader's Digest Services, 1960) and Robert Dixson, *Easy Reading Selections in English*, Rev. Ed. (N.Y.: Simon Schuster, 1962). You may also use booklet-and-cassette packets like Paul Pimsleer, *Encounters: A Basic Reader* (N.Y.: Harcourt-Brace). Make sure, particularly with more-advanced learners, that the materials provide socio-cultural information about the target culture.

13. Conduct choral readings (as of humorous dialogues) to inject an element of play into reading practice. Verse dialogues may be best because of the patterning provided by the rhythm, rhymes, and repetition.

14. Engage in read-show-and-discuss activities using an easy, illustrated text, moving leisurely forward, and asking many questions. A good example is *Now You Know People at Work*, published by the Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation, 1974.

15. Read aloud a passage (preferably with numbered lines), then ask the pupils questions that will require them to re-read the passage silently to locate the answer. Ask the students to specify the line where the answer appears, to make sure that they do re-read the passage, rather than answer from memory. The reason you must read the passage

aloud first is to make sure that the students, when they read through silently, do so with the correct "mental" pronunciation and sentence intonation.

16. Have students prepare and read to each other out of favorite books, then have the reader and his audience talk about the materials read. These discussion groups should comprise pupils of mixed abilities, so the better readers will carry the weaker pupils along. The traditional practice of having a student read to the rest of the class materials in the textbook which they already know, produces boredom and restlessness.

17. Have groups prepare and present "oral interpretations" or dramatic readings or printed or original materials. Before doing their presentations, the students should discuss the meanings of the skits or passages and plan the details of the rendition. Encourage the pupils to improvise as they go along.

MOVING TOWARD INDEPENDENT READING

18. Without reading the passage aloud first, have the students read it silently and answer questions.

19. To make sure that, as of this point, the pupils pay close attention to the structure signals, have the questions focus on precise points of grammar ("Has the action already taken place or is it going to? How do you know?" "What does the word 'it' in line 47 refer to exactly?)

20. Use formal or informal diagnostic procedures to group students by ability and interest. The Gates-MacGinintie Reading Test (N.Y.: Teacher College Press, Columbia University, 1978) exemplifies formal tests.

21. Devise remedial work for those who need it. The work may include commercial or teacher-prepared programs in which the student hears the sentence, sees an appropriate picture, then reads the sentence aloud. An example is Eugene J. Hall, English Self-Taught: A Multi-Media Course in English as a Second Language for Individualized Instruction (Roanoke, Texas: Cassettes Unlimited, 1977.

22. Have the students, completely on their own (at home, in the language lab, or in class), read passages in textbooks or workbooks and do the exercises. Assignments may be differentiated by ability and interest.

23. Teach the students to approach a new selection. Tell them to: (a) read the selection through as rapidly as possible to get the meaning as a whole: during this phase, students should mark difficult or important words or passages, but they shouldn't stop to unravel meanings or look words up, or they will lose the over all meanings; (b) return to

the difficult or important passages for an intensive study; (c) reread the entire selection to fix the materials in the mind, again (as in Step A) moving rapidly through.

24. Teach the students to interpret unknown words: (a) whenever possible, the students should infer the meaning of the new word from the context or from familiar elements (affixes and smaller words making up compounds); (b) when the context does not make the meaning clear, the students may simply note the word and move on; (c) if the word keeps recurring or if it is essential to the meaning, the students should determine its sense by reference to the translation in a dual-language text, glosses in the margin, or glosses provided by the teacher. Dictionaries should be used only as a last resort. Introduce literate adults to the phonetic transcription system used by the class dictionary.

25. Help the student retain the new vocabulary. Never teach words without the context of a sentence and perhaps a situation: this is why you should never teach word-frequency lists as such, proceeding from A to Z. Instead, have students note only those words that they encounter in their actual readings. Then have the students go back through the text and review the words until they can translate them all into the native language. Follow-up activities for word study may include exercises in related words ("ability" → "ably" → "enable" → "unable" → "disability" → "disabled"): remember, however, that each item must be put in a sentence. Other follow-up activities are the discussion of multiple meanings (the corner of a room, a table, a street, a box, etc.); the examination of cognates ("cat"--"gato"--"chat"); the recall of synonyms, antonyms, and associated words; the playing of word games (crossword puzzles, finding hidden words, unscrambling words, identifying "words that don't belong", forming as many words as possible out of the letters of a long word); and so on. Note that all these activities are for *review* purposes and *not* to teach new words. Books like Jerome Shostak, *The Vocabulary Workshop*, Rev. Ed. (N.Y.: Oxford Book Co., 1970) and books that teach "twenty new words a day" are of very questionable value if used to teach new words.

26. Help the students enrich their command of the target language by engaging them in additional language activities like the study of interesting word origins, malapropisms, words whose meanings have shifted, place names, connotations and denotations, the use of snarl words and purr words in propaganda and advertising, euphemisms, borrowed words, imaginative comparisons, and usage levels (slang, dialect, etc.). Introduce the pupils to the complete range of information provided by a good dictionary.

27. Teach the students to process the information in the readings efficiently: (a) ask questions in the following order: "What", "Show us...", "yes/no", and finally other wh- questions (where, when, why, . . .). Begin with questions of fact, move on through questions about more-or-less unmistakable implications, and finally, lead up to questions that involve analysis, interpretation, and judgment; (b) have students

devise their own questions and answer them; (c) have the students do follow-up exercises: match items, circle the correct completion or answer, fill in blanks, translate, identify roots and affixes, identify the main idea and the topic sentence of the paragraph, divide run-on passages into paragraphs, and unscramble "deranged" paragraphs.

28. Teach improved study skills to the students. Examples are the SQ3R technique and the use of tables of contents, prefaces, headings, summary chapters, indexes, reference materials, and the card catalogue.

BUILDING READING SPEED WITHOUT LOSS OF COMPREHENSION

29. Discourage su[illegible]calization, regressions, finger pointing, rigid or over-frequent eye fi[illegible]ions, inflexible reading speeds, failure to skim, obsession with unimportant details, and the practice of reading without the intent to comprehend or remember ("barking at print").

30. Choose a selection that most of the students can read easily. Present the passage for a limited amount of time (e.g., by means of a transparency) or time the students as they read the selection. Then ask some content questions. Or ask the students to skim through the materials to answer just a particular question (which you should give them in advance). Reassure obsessive-compulsive students that skimming is, in such a case, completely moral. NOTE: Even while helping the students read as fast as they are capable, beware of speed at the expense of comprehension.

31. Continue to read to the class periodically, perhaps twice a week for half an hour. The materials could be such enjoyable selections as the fence-whitewashing episode in Tom Sawyer. Don't follow the reading with any questions or assignments, for the purpose of the reading is to let the pupils simply enjoy the selection.

READING LONGER SELECTIONS

32. Acquire for the classroom library corner a wide variety of relatively short, attractively bound and illustrated books, newspapers, magazines, catalogues, and better-quality comic books. The situations and people in the materials should be such that the students would be able to relate to them closely. The materials should cover a span of at least four years in reading proficiency and personal maturity. Acquire also dictionaries and other resource materials; textbooks in the various curriculum areas; and books and magazines in the student's native language. Use a chart on the bulletin board or a card file to help the students exchange books. If not enough school funds are available, pay for the purchases by founding a paperback book club, financed, owned and operated by the students themselves, with the books becoming the property of the students at the end of the year. Let the students read the books during the in-class reading periods, as special rewards after they complete their regular assignments, or at home.

33. Arouse the students' interest in the books by means of displays (e.g., of the jackets, of professional and other students' reviews of pictures of maps related to the books, etc.) or by praising the books to the pupils. Present films, filmstrips, and records relevant to the books.

34. Help the students to move along through the readings once they get started: (a) The books should be graded readers with glosses and end vocabularies or interlinear glosses, bilingual readers, or materials that the students have already encountered (for instance, translations of originals with which the pupils are familiar. (b) Select texts with study guides or provide the study guides yourself, to enable even the reluctant reader to move along with the least frustration. The study guides should contain such aids as plot summaries, family trees, historical background, biographical information, glossaries, drawings, suggestions as to where the students can naturally stop (the natural divisions in the book), and notes (but avoid pedantic, trivial notes). You may save yourself the trouble of preparing such guides by using A Teacher's Guide to Contemporary Teen-age Fiction, A Teacher's Guide to Poetry, and A Teacher's Guide to Modern Drama, all by Steward H. Benedict (N.Y.: Dell, 1970). Each contains lists of selected words, along with questions and exercises. Also valuable is Richard S. Alm, Books for You: A Reading List for Senior High School Students (N.Y.: Washington Square Press, 1964). (c) If necessary, provide extrinsic motivation by setting up a contractual arrangment with the student (a given number of books for a given period of time), and recognize, or reward, the "top ten bookworms." Agree on a timetable and set up "book talks" and conferences. Keep a file on each student's progress (tests, reports, charts, schedules, etc.). (d) To make the reading meaningful, have students do something with the readings: (1) answer questions, orally or in writing; (2) tell other students about the selection; (3) write a review, a summary, or a report; (4) extend a story, do a skit, dramatize a scene, give a sales talk promoting the book, do an oral interpretation of a passage, prepare an "interview" with the author or characters, engage with other members of the class with a panel discussion about the book, do a news item about the book, have the characters meet ten years after the end of the story, etc. Try not to check overtly whether students have read the books, for that may offend them. Let the verification be incidental to the students' reactions to the books. Needless to say, when students turn in a project, be sure to study it and promptly return it with your comments (not just a checkmark or grade). (e) Original pieces by the students themselves, modeled on their readings, may include picture captions, cartoon strips, parodies, and original poetry, fiction, and drama.

35. Increasingly, shift the emphasis to completely voluntary, unchecked reading, with the materials selected by the student according to his own interests. However, because students' tastes do not spontaneously improve, do recommend "better" books to the students in their own areas of interest. Thus the boy who enjoys adventure stories may be steered toward mature "adventure stories" like Joseph Conrad's Lord Jim.

36. Emphasize not dates and names, but the enjoyment of literature--that is, the pleasure of discovering new perspectives and techniques. You can do this by giving a decided preference to contemporary words when the "classics" having nothing to recommend them but their age, and by calling the students' attention to the techniques of literature (point of view, symbolism, rhythm, choice of words, mood, conflicts, recurring themes, the role of description, the use of concrete objects in drama, etc.). Always, however, begin with the surface meanings.

37. Pre-teach literature by giving students, in advance, the information that would make the text meaningful and interesting (the facts of the author's life, the social conditions, the setting, etc.). Use visual aids (photos, miniature stages, maps), records (music of the period, John Gielgud Reads Hamlet), and the like.

38. In the class discussion and study-guide questions, emphasize the relevance of the literary piece to the students' own lives ("Have you ever been forced, like Lord Jim, to choose between doing the right thing and saving yourself?" "What do you think are the duties of parents toward their children, and what do children owe their parents?").

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VIII

CODE SWITCHING

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ABSTRACTS

CÓRDOVA, ROBERTO H. (University of Northern Colorado) CODE-SWITCHING IN CHICANO POETRY: A CONSIDERABLE DEGREE OF PREDICTABILITY BASED ON SYNTAX: The purpose of this study is to describe how the Spanish-English code-switching that occurs in Chicano poetry adheres to a substantial degree to underlying syntactic structures.

By using the syntactic structures of Standard Spanish and Standard English phrases and declarative sentences as a gauge to analyze one hundred bilingual Chicano poems, the total number of phrases and declarative sentences that occur entirely in Spanish, entirely in English, and in Spanish-English code-switching, is determined. A comparison of these numerical figures not only enables us to determine a specific amount of code-switching that occurs in this genre of poetry, but we are also able to discern several distinct syntactically based patterns that depict when code-switching is most likely to occur; hence, a degree of predictability based on syntax is possible.

Because all of the one hundred poems considered in this study are free verse poems, the extracted syntactic data may be seen to reflect not only the code-switching that occurs in Chicano poetry but also the code-switching that occurs in daily oral or written Chicano Spanish as well.

ELIAS-OLIVARES, LUCIA (University of Illinois) THE ANALYSIS OF MIXED SPANISH: A CRITIQUE OF EXISTING STUDIES: Socio-economic and socio-historical circumstances have created in Texas, as well as in other English-Spanish speaking communities in the Southwest, a speech variety which exhibits a high degree of relexification and a smaller degree of grammatical interference from English. The Español Mixtureado (Mixed Spanish) variety is only one of the many spans of a sociolinguistic continuum commanded--with varying degrees of fluency--by Chicanos. (Elías-Olivares 1976)

Most of existing studies on this subject show an exaggerated concern about the influence of English on Chicano Spanish consequently, many grammatical structures are considered to be calques or structures which parallel English rules when in effect they are present in the informal styles used by monolingual speakers of Spanish in other linguistic areas which do not experience language contact situations. This paper analyzes present studies dealing with Mixed Spanish and compares the data used by their authors with data collected by this investigator in Austin and the Rio Grande Valley, Texas during 1973-1975. The paper also focuses on the urgent need to gather actual conversational data in order to increase our understanding of language use in Chicano communities, since the approaches based on questionnaires and the ellicitation of acceptability judgments do not always render an accurate picture of language use in these communities.

SANCHEZ, ROSAURA (University of California, San Diego) FAMILY PATTERNS OF CODE-SWITCHING: This paper examines the patterns of code-switching in two Chicano families: one from an urban area (San Diego, California) and one from a rural area (Chualar, California). The code-switching discourse is examined in terms of speech-acts, family roles, age, residence, and generation. Together they are seen to correlate with certain socio-economic factors and to reflect particular ideological perspectives or postures on the part of the speakers. The paper makes use of the model proposed by Labov for the study of therapeutic discourse although we are more concerned with the implications of particular shifts from one language to another and the variables which trigger these shifts.

VALDÉS, GUADALUPE and PINO, CECILIA (New Mexico State University) MUY A TUS ORDENES: COMPLIMENT RESPONSES AMONG MEXICAN-AMERICAN BILINGUALS: Recent work in the analysis of conversational discourse has included the study of compliment responses among English-speaking American monolinguals (Pomerantz, 1978). This preliminary work suggests that compliment responses are subject to separate constraint systems which involve the receiver's obligation to respond to a compliment while at the same time avoiding self-praise. This paper examines compliment responses, within the framework provided by Pomerantz, in conversational interactions between bilingual Mexican-American speakers. The strategies used by these speakers in working within the established constraint system is compared with those used by monolingual English-speaking Americans and by monolingual Spanish-speaking Latin Americans.

WARNER, BRIAN (Arizona State University) THE DESCRIPTION OF BILINGUAL SPEECH: The description of bilingual speech raises certain theoretical problems for the linguist who hopes to achieve descriptive adequacy. Classificatory inventories of utterance types abound, most stemming from the pioneering work of Weinreich, and Haugen's tripartite division into 'interference, integration, and code-switching'. These categories have been further refined and subdivided to the point that studies of bilingual speech have reached a high level of observational adequacy.

The rule-governed nature of code-switching has been observed, but attempts to formalize these rules have been scarce. Part of the problem may be in trying to fit all the data into the procustean bed of transformational-generative grammar. Much of the data is undoubtedly syntactic, and can be described with the formal mechanisms of T-G grammar.

But much interesting data lies beyond the realm of syntax. The situational and societal appropriateness of code-switching, for example, both interests the researcher and eludes formal analysis. Morgan (1978) develops a framework to describe what he calls 'conventions of usage'. His framework, I propose, can be profitably adapted to the description of these aspects of bilingual speech.

CODE SWITCHING IN BILINGUAL CHICANO POETRY: A DEGREE OF PREDICTABILITY BASED ON SYNTAX

Roberto H. Córdova
University of Northern Colorado

The use of Spanish-English code switching in the daily speech of many Chicanos has been the norm for several years. In the recent past, linguists and other interested scholars have begun to examine and study this multifaceted phenomenon more closely. Of course, code switching is not unique to speakers of Spanish and English because the alternating between two languages has been found to exist in other bilingual communities throughout the world. The alternating between languages within and among utterances is not only curiously interesting, but it also challenges our ability to determine when and under what circumstances code switching will occur. Studies by Pfaff (1975) and Timm (1975) indicate that code switching seems to be governed by underlying syntactic rules all of which have yet to be fully determined and completely understood. Though a comprehensive explicit account of the underlying rules that govern code switching remains to be formulated, it can be said that code switching does not occur at random.

The Spanish-English code switching phenomenon is also characteristic of many of the poems written by Chicano poets. Valdés-Fallis (1975) addresses the predictability of code switching in bilingual Chicano poetry by suggesting that code switching takes place when the poet wishes to describe a "change of domain, a change of worlds." According to Valdés-Fallis, the poet describes the Chicano world in Spanish and the Anglo world in English. Such a method for attempting to establish a specific means of predicting when code switching will occur permits the appearance of too many variables because of the many possible individual interpretations of exactly what constitutes the "Chicano world" and the "Anglo world." A description of the code switching that occurs in bilingual Chicano poetry based on well established syntactic rules of standard Spanish and standard English would surely be more reliable than a method based on subjective interpretation of ethnic worlds.

The purpose of this study is to determine the degree of predictability of the code switching that occurs in bilingual Chicano poetry based on syntax.

To accomplish our purpose, we will determine the relationship among the code switching that occurs in bilingual Chicano poetry and standard Spanish and standard English syntax. In this study, which is based on a larger study, Córdova (1977), we will examine the code switching that occurs between the subject noun and the verb in the declarative sentences that occur throughout 100 bilingual Chicano poems. We will also examine the code switching that occurs between the noun and adjective in those noun phrases that consist of a noun modified by at least one prenominal or postnominal adjective. We will use the four following syntactic rules to study the code switching declarative sentences and noun phrases found in the 100 bilingual poems being considered:

1. S ---→ NP + VP

2. S ---→ VP + NP

3. NP ---→ (adj) N

4. NP ---→ N (adj)

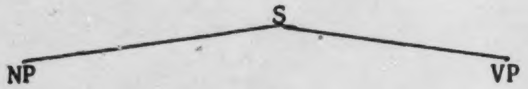
The underlying syntactic rules for the generation of grammatical declarative sentences and grammatical noun phrases are different for standard Spanish and standard English. In standard Spanish, the subject noun phrase may either precede or succeed the verb phrase; whereas in standard English, the subject noun phrase must always precede the verb phrase in declarative sentences. Except for a few classes of adjectives, all standard Spanish adjectives may precede or succeed the noun being modified, i.e., Syntactic Rule Three and Four, whereas standard English adjectives must always precede the noun being modified, i.e., Syntactic Rule Three in grammatically acceptable noun phrases containing at least one adjective. We will use these specific syntactic differences in our examination of the Spanish-English code switching that is found in the declarative sentences and noun phrases containing at least one adjective.

Declarative Sentences

Approximately forty per cent of the entire number of declarative sentences that are found in the 100 bilingual Chicano poems occur entirely in English; twenty-seven per cent occur entirely in Spanish; and the remaining thirty-three per cent occur in Spanish-English code switching. Upon closer examination of the code switching declarative sentences, we discover that all but seven of the entire number of declarative sentences found in our corpus adhere to the syntactic structure outlined by Syntactic Rule One, i.e., S ---→ NP + VP. The remaining seven declarative sentences adhere to Syntactic Rule Two, i.e., S ---→ VP + NP.

Let us first examine the code switching that occurs between the subject noun and verb in the declarative sentences that are accounted for by Syntactic Rule One.

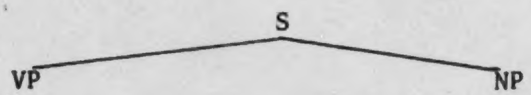
Eight code switching declarative sentences are provided below:



1)	My calles	shudder.
2)	One chisme	ruins a million reputations.
3)	La causa	gains monentum.
4)	Mis pasos lentos	slowly kiss the dirt.
5)	My jefita	was no more.
6)	Our tomorrow	es hoy.
7)	The happening	es obra nuestra.
8)	Ancestors of mis charros abuelos	indios fueron.

All but three of the entire number of code switching sentences containing the syntactic structure, S ----→ NP + VP, consist of a Spanish noun that precedes an English verb as depicted in sentences (1) through (5) above. We can also note that a Spanish noun can appear before a regular English verb, (1) through (4), or a form of the English verb to be in sentence (5). In none of the declarative sentences does an English noun occur with a regular Spanish verb. Stated differently, no code switching sequences such as, "My streets tembla," "The cause gana," "My steps besa," etc., are found in our corpus. Though English nouns do not occur before regular Spanish verbs, English nouns do occur before a form of the Spanish verb, ser (to be), in the only three such sentences found in our data, sentences (6) through (8).

Moving on to the examination of the code switching declarative sentences that adhere to Syntactic Rule Two, S ----→ VP + NP, we find that only seven declarative sentences with this particular syntactic structure occur in the 100 Chicano poems. These seven sentences are provided below:



9)	Era de Fowler	el vato.
10)	Dijo	el existencialista Danés.
11)	Me habló en el sueño	Tenoch.
12)	Brota	una lluvia de chispas.
13)	Brotaron	frutas más ricas.
14)	In the barrio sopla	el viento.
15)	In my corners stand	the youth "morena" with no future.

Though these sentences, (9) through (15) do not exhibit code switching between the subject noun and the verb, closer scrutiny of these sentences as a whole reveals a significant pertinant fact related to the code switching that characterizes this genre of poetry. The syntactic structure of sentences(9) through (15) pertain to standard Spanish and not to standard English syntax, and six of these sentences (9) through (14) occur entirely or predominately in Spanish.

Noun Phrases

To analyze the noun phrases that are found in the 100 bilingual Chicano poems and that consist of a noun modified by at least one adjective, we will utilize Syntactic Rules Three and Four (restated below):

3. NP ----➤ (adj) N

4. NP ----➤ N (adj)

Approximately fifty-one per cent of the total number of this specific category of noun phrases that are found in our corpus occur entirely in English; forty-three per cent occur entirely in Spanish; and the remaining six per cent occur in Spanish-English code switching. As these figures indicate, the clear majority of this specific type of noun phrases are language loyal, and code switching is more apt to occur among than within these noun phrases.

After closer study of the noun phrases that consist of a noun modified by at least one adjective and that exhibit code switching between the noun and adjective, we discover that approximately 95 per cent of these code switching noun phrases adhere to Syntactice Rule Three and the remaining five per cent of these noun phrases adhere to Syntactic Rule Four.

Ten of the code switching noun phrases that are accounted for by Syntactic Rule Three are provided below:

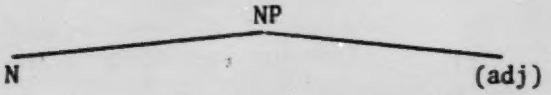
NP

	(adj)	N
16)	past	desmadres
17)	playful	cucarachas
18)	quiet	llanto
19)	the biggest	chingazo
20)	a noisy	chorro
21)	pulque	lands
22)	the chisme's	edicts
23)	our pinche	oppressors
24)	hot Azteca	sun
25)	raspado	dreams

Code switching noun phrases (16) through (20) consist of an English adjective that precedes a Spanish noun, and conversely, noun phrases (21) through (25) consist of a Spanish adjective that precedes an English noun. Approximately 85 per cent of this particular category of noun phrases are similar to noun phrases (16) through (20) which indicates that the bilingual poet clearly prefers the use of prenominal English adjectives with Spanish nouns rather than the use of prenominal Spanish adjectives with English nouns.

Moving on to the discussion of the code switching noun phrases that adhere to Syntactic Rule Four, we discover that approximately 96 per cent of these noun phrases occur entirely in Spanish, two per cent of them occur entirely in English, and the remaining two per cent occur in Spanish-English code switching. The fact that Syntactic Rule Four, NP ----> N (adj), accounts for standard Spanish and not standard English noun phrases containing a noun and at least one adjective and 96 per cent of the noun phrases that adhere to Syntactic Rule Four occur entirely in Spanish firmly indicate that underlying syntactic structures play a major rule in determining in which language, Spanish or English, the noun phrase will occur.

The underlying syntactic structure also plays a major role in determining in what language the postnominal adjective will occur in the code switching noun phrases that are accounted for by Syntactic Rule Four. The only three of this particular type of code switching noun phrases that are found in our data are provided below:



26)	possessions	amasadas
27)	the youth	morena
28)	jump boots	shainadas

The noun in each of the noun phrases, (26) through (28) occurs in English, but the postnominal adjective in each case occurs in Spanish thereby supporting the proposition that underlying syntactic structures are related to the code switching that occurs in the noun phrases found in our data.

In conclusion, we have examined and discussed the code switching that occurs among and within the declarative sentences and a particular class of noun phrases that are found in 100 bilingual Chicano poems. Though we have determined and described several syntactically based characteristics and tendencies regarding the degree of predictability of the Spanish-English code switching that occurs in the declarative sentences and noun phrases that occur in our corpus, the following characteristics are the most significant: 1) Spanish nouns can occur with and precede a form of regular English verbs; 2) Spanish nouns can occur with and precede a form of the English verb, to be: 3) English nouns do not occur with or precede regular Spanish verbs; 4) English nouns can occur with and precede a form of the Spanish verb, ser, i.e., to be; 5) when the underlying syntactic structure for declarative sentences is S ----> VP + NP, the resulting declarative sentence will occur entirely or predominately in Spanish in six out of every seven sentences; 6) English adjectives occur with and precede Spanish nouns in 85 per cent of the cases; 7) postnominal adjectives in code switching noun phrases always occur in Spanish; and 8) when the underlying syntactic structure for noun phrases is NP ----> N (adj), the resulting noun phrases occur entirely in Spanish 96 per cent of the time.

We have demonstrated that underlying syntactic structures do enable us to establish syntactically based patterns and tendencies of the Spanish-English code switching that prevails within and among specific, yet vital, linguistic elements of bilingual Chicano poetry. Though many questions about the code switching that occurs in this form of poetry remain unanswered, further research will undoubtedly reveal that syntax will play a major role in our ability to predict when code switching will or will not occur in bilingual Chicano poetry.

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THE ANALYSIS OF MIXED SPANISH: A CRITIQUE OF EXISTING STUDIES

Lucia Elías-Olivares
University of Illinois-Chicago Circle

A considerable number of studies on Chicano Spanish show an exaggerated concern about the influence of English on this dialect consequently, many grammatical structures are considered to be calques or structures which parallel English rules when in effect they are present in the informal styles used by monolingual speakers of Spanish in other linguistic areas which do not experience language contact situations. This paper examines present studies dealing with Mixed Spanish and compares the data used by their authors with data collected by this investigator in Austin, Texas. The paper also focuses on code-switching studies and on the need to gather actual conversational data in order to increase our understanding of language use in Chicano communities, since the approaches based only on questionnaires and the elicitation of acceptability judgments do not always render an accurate picture of language use in these communities.

Socio-economic and socio-historical circumstances have created in the Southwest, as well as in other English-Spanish speaking communities in the United States, a Spanish speech variety characterized by a considerable degree of relexification and a lesser degree of English syntactical influence. This variety -Español Mixtureado or Mixed Spanish- is only one of the many spans of a sociolinguistic continuum command- with varying degrees of fluency by bilingual Chicanos.

Many of the studies dealing with this variety and other varieties of Chicano Spanish have tended to exaggerate its English influence and consequently, several grammatical structures have been considered to be calques or constructions which parallel English rules when in effect they can be found in the informal speech styles used by monolingual speakers of Spanish in other lingusitic areas which do not experience a language contact situation.

Español Mixtureado is a Chicano speech variety which has undergone some lexical and grammatical changes as a result of English interference which have become part of the norm in use in Chicano communities. That is to say, the process started with interference but now the forms have been fully integrated into the speech of functional as well as incipient bilinguals. Sentences such as Mistié el bos y entonces me vine patrás or Ellos no van a correr nuestras vidas have been fully integrated into the Spanish language repertoire of the speakers who do not recognize the influence that English has had on these sentences.

I will not deal here with the great number of words erroneously categorized as borrowings, i.e. mamá grande, mantequilla de cacahuate, máquina de lavar, etc., but rather with some of the syntactic constructions which have been attributed to English influence. Consider for example, the sentence Subió p'arriba. Supposedly it is a translation of the English He or she went upstairs, when in reality it is widely used by monolingual Spanish speakers throughout Latin America and which is a subject of derision, for when it is uttered, the interlocutor mocks the redundancy asking, Sí? Creí que habías subido para abajo. A similar pattern occurs with the verbs salir and entrar, in sentences such as Salí para afuera and Entré para adentro, which elicit the same mocking comment from the interlocutor.

Another case of English influence has been said to be the use of the possessive adjective instead of the definite article as required by standard Spanish. However, Rubén Del Rosario states that "one of the morphosyntactic characteristics of the Spanish of Mexico is precisely the use of the possessive for emphasis, i.e., Me duele mi cabeza, Tómate tu leche," and he adds that these constructions are perhaps more generalized in the Spanish of Mexico than in the Spanish of the other Latin American countries (Del Rosario 1970:104). The Mexican dialectologist Juan Lope Blanch also states that the use of the possessive instead of the definite article--that some linguists have attributed to Náhuatl influence--can be explained from within the Spanish language (Lope Blanch 1972:23). This type of construction is well documented since the beginnings of the Spanish language; it can be found as far back as the Cantar de Mío Cid, i.e., Con el Minaya que no se le parte de so braco (v. 1244).

Other usages presented as cases of English interference, which are equally widely used by Mexican and Latin American speakers are as follows:

1. The use of the indefinite article in constructions that do not normally take it, i.e. Ella es una maestra.

2. The non-deletion of the pronominal subject, i.e., Yo te dije que yo no lo había hecho!

3. The tendency to use estar+gerund for imperfective aspect, i.e., Dime donde se está llevando a efecto eso, or Le estamos incluyendo su pedido.

4. The usage of passive sentences with deleted agents for active sentences, either with the verb in the third person plural or se impersonal constructions, i.e., Ha sido encontrado culpable, or Ha sido condenado a muerte.

I am not trying to minimize the influence that English has had on varieties of Chicano Spanish, but being a native speaker of Spanish, and after examining data from other countries, I must say that many writers tend to overemphasize the syntactical influence of English. These examples could be explained as internally motivated changes in the

Spanish language. It is granted that definite answers will come with difficulty, as we still do not possess a clear understanding of informal and popular varieties of Spanish in Mexico and other Spanish-speaking countries. It is lamentable because this information is basic to our understanding of the varieties of Spanish available to Spanish-speaking bilinguals in the United States.

Another variety in Chicano speech is code-switching which can be defined as, (a) the alternation of two languages as a result of a change in the social situation. With respect to the analysis of this mode of speaking used by Chicano bilinguals, several studies have dealt with the social determinants and the possible linguistic constraints on this type of behavior. Some of these studies have as a shortcoming the methodology and the instruments of research employed which result in researchers making definite statements that are not then supported by data collected by other investigators. In general, the data have been drawn either from a single taped interview or from a group of speakers who have been asked to provide acceptability judgments about certain code-switching sentences given by the investigator.

In an article written on this subject (Timm 1975) it has been said that switching cannot occur between pronominal subjects and objects and finite verbs. Thus examples such as *Yo went, *Mira him or *Ella ate a las five would be ungrammatical. Another researcher, however, offers from her data the sentence Tú lo underestimate a Chito (Pfaff 1976). Her argument that the morphological complexity of underestimate makes it suitable for adaptation to the Spanish language patterns is accurate but it is also important to take into account that the Spanish equivalent of this verb belongs to a more formal style rather than to the more informal style typical of Chicano speech. This fact increases the possibility of switching to English. Reyes (1976) provides similar examples in discussing a regional variety of code-switching used in California and Arizona in which the Spanish verb hacer is followed by an English infinitive. The Spanish verb functions here like an auxiliary verb that provides the English verb forms with the proper inflectional endings for specific syntactic environments, i.e., Hizo challenge al test examiner, Hizo improve mucho.[1] Forms like *hacer eat, *hacer walk do not occur due to the fact that comer and caminar are frequently used in the speech of Chicanos whereas other verbs such as mejorar, desafiar, are not.

Examples of code-switching between finite verbs and their infinitive complements, i.e., *Voy to decide, have been said not to occur. However, I can quote the following examples from my data: Cuando lo comenzo (a) train, You know, que vengan a hurt your family. Code-switching can also occur between auxiliary and main verbs despite the statements to the contrary, i.e., No sé cómo pudo survive tanto tiempo, Tenía tres semanas de estar practicing en la band. A very common construction is precisely one in which the auxiliaries estar, venir, andar and seguir are followed by an English present participle to make a progressive construction: Vamos a ir swimming, Siempre sigue cleaning motels, No hay nadie que 'ta bothering you.

Part of the problem of making statements about linguistic constraints, which are then not supported by data collected by other researchers, lies in the fact that some of the studies do not reflect the everyday speech of these communities. We cannot rely completely on the informants' judgments for an understanding of language performance in bilingual communities since most often, acceptability judgments represent stereotypes of code-switching and speech patterns in general. Furthermore, some of the studies have been based on speech patterns taken from written works which do not represent necessarily the patterns of language use in the community.

Finally, with respect to attitudes toward Mixed Spanish and Code-switching, several studies suggest that there is a negative attitude toward these interlingual varieties among their speakers. Nevertheless, in a study about attitudes toward varieties of Spanish in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas which was conducted with college students in Edinburg, Texas, Mixed Spanish was rated higher than other informal varieties, such as Popular Spanish, for example. This is probably due to the fact that speakers seem to be more aware of phonological variables than syntactical ones. Since the recorded passage used to illustrate the Mixed Spanish variety had an intonation contour more like standard Spanish, the passage in Popular Spanish was regarded as the more stigmatized of the two (Amastae and Elías-Olivares 1978). The fact that in this study two of the most often stigmatized varieties, Popular Spanish and Mixed Spanish were evaluated positively by these speakers supports other claims in the sense that younger Chicanos are beginning to regard their speech varieties with ethnic pride (Elías-Olivares 1976). Or, as we suggest in the Edinburg study, it may well be that these have never been stigmatized varieties for the speakers, as opposed to what linguists think, or that those informants who said that they were stigmatized may have been responding to what they thought the researchers wanted to hear.

One has to admit, however, that the layman, the "purists," and especially teachers do not tolerate these varieties. Their attitudes toward Mixed Spanish and Code-switching are similar to those held by the layman with regard to pidgins and creoles, due to being unable to distinguish between attitudes toward language varieties and attitudes toward the speakers of those varieties. Hymes has stated that pidgins and creoles "have been explained not by historical and social forces, but by inherent ignorance, insolence, and inferiority" (Hymes 1971:3). This can certainly be applied to the varieties in question.

In effect, Mixed Spanish and Code-switching are speech varieties which have come to be evaluated primarily in terms of the low status of their speakers. Especially within Spanish language teaching circles, these interlingual varieties are perceived not only as "corrupt" but also as a rejection of the mother tongue.

Ornstein has said correctly that the Southwest as a linguistic area has suffered from overgeneralization, and the perpetuation of misconceptions (Ornstein 1975). To a large extent this has been the result of Chicano Spanish taken to be a demographic marker of basically one-variety speakers, above all in the eyes of teachers and the prescriptive Spanish academic community. Fortunately this shortcoming is beginning to be overcome by the current research in this field. Another important factor underlying Ornstein's statement is that some of the researchers involved in this field have not been knowledgeable about informal varieties of Spanish, however well versed they might be in academic textbook Spanish. Moreover, they have chosen to analyze linguistic data which do not come from natural social interaction and which do not provide an accurate picture of language use in bilingual communities.

NOTES

1. In almost one hundred hours of recorded speech with speakers from Texas, only one instance of *hacer* + English infinitive occurred: *Más antes hacía vacuum*.

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MUY A TUS ÓRDENES: COMPLIMENT RESPONSES AMONG MEXICAN-AMERICAN BILINGUALS

Guadalupe Valdés and Cecilia Pino
New Mexico State University

It has been said that participation in conversational interaction is very similar to driving a car (Goody, 1978). Somehow, at what has become an automatic level, we respond to the moves made by other drivers, make turns, slow down, stop, and constantly remain alert for signals of the other person's intention. In speaking, in becoming competent speakers of a language, we become skilled in both saying what we mean and not saying what we mean; at being direct and at giving options; at saving face, and at forcing our fellow speaker's hand; and overall at carrying out actions of various types by means of speech. In every case, we are alert to the other person's conversational moves.

The study of conversational interaction within the framework of speech act theory has recently contributed significantly to our understanding of what people say in relation to what is actually happening in a conversational exchange. By focusing on minimal diologic units, recent researchers have sought to ascertain how people interact within conversations and how, as Labov and Fanshel (1977) have expressed it, "speech affects (alters and maintains) the relations of the self and others in face-to-face communications."

While most of the research in conversational interaction has focused on monolingual speech, the specific interest by researchers in determining how proposed rules of conversation (Grice, 1975) and rules of politeness (Lakoff, 1973 and Brown and Levinson, 1978) are present in a variety of cultural settings has encouraged the extension of the work already done in monolingual settings among Anglo-Americans, not only to other monolingual settings, but most specifically to the study of bilingual communities.

The purpose of this study is to examine one type of speech act, the compliment response, among Mexican-American bilinguals. In doing so, preliminary work carried out by Pomerantz (1978) among English-speaking American monolinguals in the use of this specific speech act will be studied and followed closely. Pomerantz's work, together with that of Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, and Schenkein, is committed to the close scrutiny of naturally occuring interaction and has as its purpose the understanding of what actually takes place when talk is organized into conversation.

There are several reasons for undertaking such a study:

(1) While much has been said about the lingusitic repertoire of Mexican-American bilinguals and attempts have been made to describe the various ways or modes of speaking present in a given bilingual community (Elías-Olivares, 1976); little is known about how such speakers use the

varieties or options available to them to carry out specific actions by means of speech.

(2) Gumperz (1976) has suggested that bilingual speakers use different varieties of one or both of their languages or a combination of both in ways similar to those used by monolinguals. It has been established that monolinguals switch between various registers or styles or use prosodic features such as intonation, pitch, and loudness to signal a variety of meanings. However, very little work has been done in determining exactly how bilinguals compare with monolinguals with regard to the verbal strategies used by both for carrying out the same actions.

(3) While it is a truism that language and culture are uniquely interconnected, certain aspects, such as rules of politeness, which are part of a culture, have only recently begun to be examined with regard to their manifestation in speech. Not surprisingly, little work has been done in examining how such aspects are reflected in bilingual communities. It is not known whether rules of politeness change in a bilingual setting, what constraints, if any, are disregarded, and what means are found for dealing with the remaining or new constraint systems.

The specific focus of this paper, then, includes:

A. a comparison of compliment responses among three groups: English-speaking monolinguals, Spanish-speaking monolinguals residing in Mexico, and bilingual Mexican-Americans.

B. an analysis of the constraints underlying such responses.

C. an analysis of how speech is used in observing these constraints.

COMPLIMENT RESPONSES

Responding to compliments involves a number of difficulties for the speaker. On the one hand, in normal conversation, he is obliged to respond to what is actually either an assessment of his actions, possessions, etc., or a statement of support concerning his person; and on the other, he cannot give the impression that he is praising himself. Some of these difficulties are apparent to speakers in general and, for this reason, mention is made of compliment responses by such authorities on good manners as Emily Post. Young people are frequently admonished about the necessity of learning how to "take" compliments gracefully.

In analyzing the scheme underlying patterns of responses to compliments, Pomerantz suggests that such responses are subject to separate constraint systems. A speaker is obliged to respond to a compliment while at the same time, he is obliged to avoid self-praise. Consequently, an efficient and effective speaker will learn to use a number of means at his disposal for accomplishing both goals. The focus of the analysis of compliment responses, therefore, involves the study of exactly what means speakers use in order to work within these constraints.

COMPLIMENT RESPONSES AMONG ENGLISH-SPEAKING MONOLINGUALS

Table 1, following, illustrates briefly the compliment patterns cited by Pomerantz as existing among English-speaking monolinguals.

According to Pomerantz, a speaker may accept a compliment by using an appreciation token as follows:

(1) A: That's really beautiful.
B: Well, thank you.

or by agreeing with the compliment assertion:

(2) A: Oh it's beautiful.
B: Well thank you..uh I thought it was quite nice.

The more neutral response is clearly the appreciation token. Acceptance by agreeing with a compliment assertion may bring a speaker close to giving the appearance of indulging in self-praise.

One apparent way out of the self-praise dilemma is the rejection of a compliment. Such a rejection is normally carried out by disagreeing with the compliment assertion as in (3):

(3) A: Gee, Hon, you look nice in that dress.
B: Do you really think so? It's just a rag my sister gave me.

Such disagreements, however, do not satisfactorily solve the problem of both accepting a compliment and avoiding self-praise. Among the mechanisms which do accomplish such an objective are the praise upgrade which exaggerates the compliment assertion:

(4) A. Isn't he cute.
B: Oh, he's adorable.

and the scaling down of praise in which a speaker reduces the strength of a compliment assertion:

(5) A: Oh, it was just beautiful.
B: Well, thank you Uh I thought it was quite nice, And uh

Other mechanisms permit the receiver of a compliment to accept the positive assessment while at the same time qualifying the compliment assertion. A response of this type may propose that a compliment assertion is overdone.

TABLE 1

POMERANTZ: COMPLIMENT RESPONSES AMONG ENGLISH-SPEAKING MONOLINGUALS

Response Type	Example	
I. Acceptances		
1. Acceptance with appreciation token		
A_1 A compliments B	A: That's beautiful, it really is.	(1)
A_2 B accepts compliment	B: Well, thank you.	
2. Agreements		
A_1 A compliments B	A: Oh it was beautiful.	(2)
A_2 B agrees with compliment assertion	B: Well thank you... uh I thought it was quite nice.	
II. Rejections		
1. Disagreements		
A_1 A compliments B	A: Gee, Hon, you look nice in that dress.	(3)
A_2 B disagrees with compliment assertion	B: Do you really think so? It's just a rag my sister gave me.	
III. Self-Praise Avoidance Mechanisms		
1. Praise upgrade		
A_1 A compliments B	A: Isn't he cute.	(4)
A_2 B upgrades compliment assertion	B: O: :h he::s a::dorable.	
2. Scaling down of praise		
A_1 A compliments B	A: Oh it was just beautiful.	(5)
A_2 B scales down compliment assertion	B: Well, thank you Uh I thought it was quite nice, A nd uh	
3. Disagreements		
A_1 A compliments B	A: You brou:ght -like a ton of things.	(6)
A_2 B proposes compliment assertion overdone	B: Just a few little things	
or		
A_1 A compliments B	A: Good shot.	
A_2 B qualifies compliment assertion	B: Not very solid though.	(7)
4. Reassignments of Praise		
A_1 A praises B	A: You're a good rower, Honey	(8)
A_2 B praises other than self	B: These are very easy to row, Very light.	
5. Returns		
A_1 A compliments B	A: Yer looking good.	(9)
A_2 B compliments A	B: Great. So'r you.	

(6) A: You brought -like a ton of things.
B: Just a few little things.

or it may qualify the assertion as in (7):

(7) A: Good Shot.
B: Not very solid though.

Finally, the receiver of a compliment may cope with the dilemma of avoiding self-praise by shifting the praise elsewhere:

(8) A: You're a good rower, Honey.
B: These are very easy to row, very light.

or by returning the compliment:

(9) A: Yer looking good.
B: Great. So'r you.

It must be emphasized that Pomerantz in describing the above system does not claim to be exhaustive. Her purpose, rather, is to give examples of solutions to the two-fold constraint system proposed.

COMPLIMENT RESPONSES AMONG SPANISH-SPEAKING MONOLINGUALS

The Gathering of Compliment Responses

Examples of compliments and compliment responses were drawn from Mexican nationals residing in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. In an attempt to obtain a sampling of interactional strategies which included members of various social groups, recording was carried out during church-related activities within a group of Catholic charismatics and at various project sites in which a community social action group is involved.

Membership in the church group includes persons of different backgrounds and social statuses. Relationships among group members vary between distant and intimate. Neither distance nor intimacy seem to correlate with same-status or different-status factors.

The social action group includes members of what is euphemistically termed "la clase acomodada" who have made a commitment to establish labor co-ops. One such co-op is made up of scavengers who live at the city dump and the other is made up of working-class women who collaborate in making and selling dolls and stuffed animals.

Evidence of Constraint Systems Underlying Compliment Responses

The same constraints identified as underlying compliment responses among English-speaking monolinguals were found operating among Mexican monolinguals. All speakers felt an obligation to respond to a compliment and simultaneously used strategies which resulted in their avoiding self-praise.

Compliment Patterns Encountered

The same patterns of acceptance, rejection, etc. described by Pomerantz for English were found in Spanish. The only type of response not found was one which involved the avoidance of self-praise by disagreeing with the compliment assertion, (pattern III, 3). There is no reason, however, to assume that it does not occur. It is conjectured that further recording among the same groups of informants would, in time, produce an example of this type of response. Examples of all compliment types found are included in Appendix 1.

Differences in Patterns of Response Between the Two Groups

While, as stated above, in general the patterns of compliment responses among both English-speaking monolinguals and Spanish-speaking monolinguals were found to be similar, a number of differences were found. The key difference involved the fact that certain patterns occurred among Mexican monolinguals only with intimates or only with non-intimates, while others occurred with both (see Table 2). While the same limitations may be present among Anglo-Americans, they were not mentioned by Pomerantz. At the same time, it might be conjectured that if Lakoff's (1973) suggestion is valid, that is, that Americans tend to follow the third rule of politeness, "Make A feel good--be friendly," as a general policy; then interaction among such monolinguals will reflect the use of strategies which seek to create an impression of camaraderie with most interlocutors, rather than that of social distance. Mexican society, on the other hand, because it is more highly stratified, may still retain, as Lakoff also suggests, a greater use of rule 1: "Don't impose."

TABLE 2

COMPLIMENT PATTERNS USED WITH INTIMATES AND NON-INTIMATES BY MEXICAN MONOLINGUALS

Pattern/Characteristics	Intimates	Non-Intimates
1. Acceptance with appreciation	x	x
2. Acceptance with agreement	x	x
3. Rejection with disagreement	x	
4. Praise upgrades	x	
5. Scaling down of praise	x	x
6. Disagreements		
7. Qualification of compliment assertion	x	
8. Referent Shifts	x	x
9. Compliment returns	x (rare)	x

The different categories of compliment responses as described by Pomerantz and the groups with which they were used by Mexican monolinguals are summarized in Table 2.

In the compliment patterns themselves, the most notable difference involved the use of politeness formulas. Politeness formulas have been defined by Ferguson (1976) as "little snippets of ritual used in every day encounters between people." Essentially these formulas are important, not for the exact meaning carried by their referent parts, but rather for their presence or absence on an appropriate occasion.

The politeness formulas encountered took the following form:

(10) A: Qué boni::tos tus zapatos.
B: Gracias, muy a la orden.

and (11) A: Qué bonito tu hermanito.
B: Gracias, favor que le haces.

and (12) A: Quiero felicitarlos por el buen servicio que tienen ustedes aquí y especialmente a usted que es tan rápida y tan amble.
B: Muchas gracias señora, Ya sabe que estoy para servirla.

In the above examples, all politeness formulas were part of compliment acceptances and also included appreciation tokens. However, examples were also found of politeness formulas occurring without appreciation tokens:

(13) A: Me encanta tu reloj.
B: Pues está a tus órdenes.

Additional Responses Encountered Among Mexican Monolinguals

A. Acceptances in general showed a greater range of variation than that accounted for by Pomerantz. Indeed, an instance of an acceptance of a compliment using an appreciation token alone was never found. Rather the most common acceptance, aside from the use of a politeness formula, took the following form:

A_1 A compliments B
A_2 B comments on subject of compliment assertion

For example:

(14) A: Qué bien te ves desde que adelgazaste. No eres, ni la sombra de la Leticia de hace un año.
B: Mientras de que no me pongas comida enfrente, así me quedo. Pero vieras que me estoy muriendo de hambre.

and

(15) A: ¿Esos son los aretes que te regaló Adolfo? Están preciosos.
B: Fíjate que no hallaba ni que decirle cuando me los dio.

Essentially then, among Spanish-speaking monolingual Mexicans, acceptances can be said to take the following possible forms:

A. An appreciation token alone. (Most formal and distant)
(16) Muchas gracias.

B. An appreciation token + politeness formula
(17) Muchas gracias. Muy a sus órdenes.

C. A politeness formula used along (Ellipsis of appreciation token)
(18) Muy a sus órdenes.

D. An appreciation token + comment.
(19) Muchas gracias. Me los regaló Juan.

E. A comment used alone (Ellipsis of appreciation token)
(20) Me los regaló Juan.

B. Another compliment response pattern, not recorded by Pomerantz, was found among Mexican monolinguals. This pattern was found exclusively in the interaction of intimates and should probably be interpreted as an acceptance of a compliment using a strategy to avoid self-praise. This pattern took the following form.

A_1 A compliments B
A_2 B questions A about compliment assertion + (asks for repetition, clarification, or expansion of compliment assertion)
A_3 A repeats, clarifies, or expands compliment assertion

For example:

(21) A: Qué bonito te quedó el pelo ahora.
B: ¿De veras te gusta?
A: Sí, se te ve muy bien así.

and

(22) A. Oye que bien se te ve esa falda. No te la había visto.
B: ¿Se te hace? Ando medio incómoda con que esté abierta hasta tan arriba.
A: No, pero se te ve muy bien...como tienes tan bonitas piernas.

While this could be interpreted as a variation on a compliment return, in that the person receiving the compliment states that the opinion of the first speaker is of value, it is not directly intended as a compliment return. Rather, it is a strategy which permits the complimented individual to seem modest by displaying uncertainty about the subject of the compliment and simultaneously obliges the first speaker to repeat the compliment and, with such a repetition, end the compliment sequence.

Compliment Reponses Among Mexican Monolinguals: A Summary

Summarizing the differences between the body of compliment responses presented by Pomerantz for Anglo-Americans and that found among Mexican monolinguals, it can be said that:

A. Certain patterns occurred in interaction with only intimates or only non-intimates and some occurred with both.

B. All patterns, described by Pomerantz, with the exception of one (see Appendix 1), were found among monolingual Mexicans.

C. Acceptances showed a greater variation than that accounted for by Pomerantz. The most notable feature was the use of politeness formulas.

D. Among intimates, the most common pattern encountered involved request for repetition and expansion of the compliment assertion.

COMPLIMENT RESPONSES AMONG MEXICAN-AMERICAN BILINGUALS

The Gathering of Compliment Responses

Compliment responses among Mexican-American bilinguals were gathered among university-age and adult bilinguals. They were drawn from actual interactions occurring in their natural environments. All bilinguals involved in the conversations recorded are residents of the Mesilla Valley which is located in southern New Mexico.

Evidence of Constraint Systems Underlying Compliment Responses

The same constraint systems which were seen to be present among English-speaking and Spanish-speaking monolinguals were found to be operative among bilingual Mexican-Americans. The obligation to respond to a compliment was coupled with the desire to avoid self-praise.

Compliment Patterns Encountered

All but one pattern described by Pomerantz for English-speaking monolinguals were found among Mexican-American bilinguals. Appendix 2

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contains a complete series of samples of each compliment type, organized to follow Pomerantz's classifications.

Of the additional patterns found among Mexican monolinguals, only the pattern of request for repetition and expansion of a compliment was found. Two examples, however, reflected what might be interpreted as traces of politeness formulas. No instances of complete politeness formulas were found.

Characteristics of Compliment Responses Among Mexican-American Bilinguals

A. Like the system reflected by Pomerantz, the body of compliment responses found among Mexican-American bilinguals did not seem to reflect a concern for the distance or intimacy of the interlocutors involved. Only one example was found of the use of usted and this correlated with the only instance in which speakers addressed each other by last name and title:

(23) A: Le presento a mi esposa, Sr. Váldez
B: Mucho gusto.
C: Mucho gusto.
A: Es el abuelo de la Micki.
C: ¿Sí? Conozco a sus nietos. Son muy bonitos los tres.
B: Pues yo digo que son buenos los tres. Estaba viendo a su familia. Qué bonitos niños tiene.
A: Muchas gracias.

This is not to imply that all other recorded instances involved intimates. On the contrary, the body of compliments, reflected here, include a number of exchanges between persons who could at best be considered as casual nodding acquaintances. In the Mexican system examined, such exchanges would normally be characterized by the use of usted or by a use of tú (used in the interest of creating a semblance of social equality within the groups studied) which nevertheless makes evident the actual social distance between speakers. Among Mexican-American bilinguals, however, Lakoff's third rule of politeness seems to be the norm, and a fiction is carried out by speakers which involves treating others as if they were close friends.

B. The most salient characteristic of the compliments and compliment responses recorded among Mexican-American bilinguals was the use of two languages. Examples of compliments which alternated between languages include several different response types. However, the use of both languages was particularly common in simple acceptances and in acceptances which included a comment about the compliment assertion. No examples of language alternation were found in the following response types: acceptances with agreements, disagreements, praise upgrades, scaling down of praise, or compliment returns.

C. Like the system found among Mexican monolinguals, the body of compliment responses recorded among Mexican-Americans included acceptances which showed a greater amount of variation than that accounted for by Pomerantz. The majority of compliment acceptances encountered involved the use of an appreciation token followed by a comment about the compliment assertion.

Analysis of Language Choice in Compliment Responses

While it has already been established that language alternation, or code-switching, takes place for a number of different reasons including both situational (social) and transactional (personal) factors, this specific analysis of code-switching sought to determine whether:

1. a language switch took place in order to carry out a compliment response strategy unique to that particular language.
2. a language switch was used strategically, that is, in a manner similar to that in which a monolingual speaker might use prosodic clues to bring across meaning.
3. a language switch was used predominantly because of lexical need.
4. a language switch was in itself meaningless and was simply used as part of a bilingual style appropriate for interaction between bilinguals.

Only one example in the entire body of compliment responses collected involved a switch used to carry out a verbal strategy clearly identified with the opposite language. In this instance, the base language was English and the switch took place into Spanish for the expression of a comment which vaguely recalls politeness formulas currently in use among Mexican monolinguals:

(24) A: Pretty good. Ooooooh I lo::ve your blouse.
B: Thank you, cuando quieras usar el pattern para hacerla yo lo tengo.

In this instance, the expression introduced by cuando quieras is identical to the same expression as found in politeness formulas such as:

(25) Ya sabes, cuando quieras.

(26) Pues cuando gustes, aquí lo tienes a tus órdenes.

On the basis of this example, then, it can be conjectured that the use of formulaic expressions, or their traces, which are associated with one specific language; may result in a language switch.

On the other hand, the majority of the switches found were the following type:

(27) A: Irasema, no había visto una cartera como esa. De qu' está hecha?
B: Lo de afuera es de diferentes clases de víboras..esta parte es de cobra yésta es de rattlesnake.
A: Qué bonita combinación de colores.
B: Lo de adentro es de lagarto.
A: Mi::ra que bonita sta hecha.
B: Cuando fue mi amá a Nueva York le encargué una cartera de lagarto yésta fue la que me trajo.
A: Pues tiene muy buen gusto tu mamá.
B: Gracias. She's a buyer for my sister's dress shop and she really has good taste in clothes.

and

(28) A: Qué bonito pelo tienes tú. Nomás te lo haces blow dry y te queda in place.
B: Sí, por eso lo uso corto para no tener que ponerme rollers.
A: Casi ni curling iron necesitas usar. Te queda in place el pelo.
B: Pues que agusto así ¿verda?

Switching in the above example is not related to specific expressions typical of the opposite language for use in compliment responses. Rather, the speakers here are changing codes for any number of reasons discussed elsewhere (Valdés-Fallis, 1976, 1978). In some cases switches are related to momentary memory lapses, to real lexical need, or are simply part of a bilingual mode of speaking. It is not the concern of this paper to try to determine the causes underlying different switches, but rather to emphasize the fact that in samples, such as the above, switching is not being used as a strategic device which contributes to the meaning of the compliment response as such. This is important because in a previous study (Valdés-Fallis, in press) of language choice for a different speech act (the direct and indirect request), it was seen that a shift in language was intentional in much the same way that intonation changes are also deliberate. In compliment responses, however, nuances and shades of meaning are not being signaled by a change of language.

In certain other cases, however, there is room for doubt. A number of compliment responses examined contain switches which may or may not be related to the speaker's desire to avoid self-praise and at the same time to seem gracious in his response to a compliment. For example:

(29) A: ¿No ti 'as fijado que tienes mejor shape que todas estas jovencitas?
B: No se mi 'ace pero thank you anyway.

In this instance, B disagrees with the compliment, but since such a disagreement is normally interpreted as a rejection of a compliment, she quickly adds an appreciation token. It could be argued that the change in language is parallel to a softening of tone for a monolingual speaker. Similarly the switch could be interpreted as involving the preformulated item _thank you anyway_ for which the speaker did not have an immediate equivalent in Spanish.

Different difficulties of interpretation arise in examining the following sample:

(30) A: Qué bonita blusa trais ahora.
B: Thank you, me la dio la vecina. She didn't like the way it fit her so she asked me if I wanted it.

In this case the following questions could be asked: Is the fact that the appreciation token is in English meaningful? Does the choice convey a more friendly and intimate tone than _gracias_? Why does the praise of someone other than the speaker (the neighbor gave it to me) change to Spanish? Is the change meaningful within the response, or is it contextual and related to the association of the neighbor with the Spanish language in the speaker's mind? What again is the significance of the language chosen for the final comment? Finally, are the two languages used for the entire compliment sequence because the mode appropriate for interaction between the interlocutors in question is a bilingual mode?

There are no simple answers to the above questions. Overall, it can be said that, given the nature of compliment responses and the constraints described, there are undoubtedly instances in which bilinguals _do_ use language switches to contribute to the impressions of sincere appreciation and simultaneous avoidance of self-praise. Superficially, given previous work in the use of language switching as a verbal strategy, it would seem that the direction of the language switch in such cases is probably unimportant. What _is_ significant is the very fact of change or shift and the creation of contrast resulting from a change in codes. Clearly much more needs to be done in the examination of compliment responses in order to determine how both monolinguals and bilinguals use varying kinds of signals to convey subtle meanings.

Compliment Responses Among Mexican-American Bilinguals: A Summary

Summarizing, then, compliment responses among Mexican-American bilinguals are characterized by:

A. the use of all patterns described by Pomerantz

B. the use of mere fragments of one of the patterns used by Mexican monolinguals (the politeness formula)

C. the use of the second additional pattern found among Mexican monolinguals: the request for expansion and repetition of a compliment assertion

D. the use of a greater variety of acceptance patterns than that accounted for by Pomerantz

E. the use of two languages for both compliments and compliment responses.

CONCLUSIONS

This preliminary investigation suggests that there is much that needs to be done in the area of conversational analysis and particularly in the examination of specific speech acts. If community bilingualism, and therefore interaction among bilinguals, is to be understood, its study must include a concern for such areas as the use of various modes of speaking among the _same_ bilinguals for carrying out _different_ speech actions; the means used by bilingual speakers to bring across meanings which monolinguals convey by style shifts or prosodic cues; and the limitations imposed upon verbal interaction by underlying rules of politeness.

This study of compliment responses demonstrates what has been assumed to be true for some time, that is, that bilinguals are not identical to either group of monolinguals. It suggests also that emphasis on different rules of politeness can result in the loss of distinctions occurring in the immigrant language but foreign to the language of a new culture. Finally, this study proposes that, while monolinguals have access to verbal strategies in only _one_ language, bilinguals may, by switching codes, exploit a number of additional options.

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APPENDIX 1

COMPLIMENT RESPONSES AMONG SPANISH-SPEAKING MONOLINGUALS RESIDING IN MEXICO

Examples of Compliment Responses Described by Pomerantz

I. Acceptances	
1. Acceptance with appreciation	A: Qué boni::tos tus zapatos. B: Gracias, muy a la orden.
	A: Qué bonito tu hermanito. B: Gracias, favor que le haces.
	A: Quiero felicitarlos por el buen servicio que tienen ustedes aquí y especialmente a usted que es tan rápida y tan amble. B: Muchas gracias, señora. Ya sabe que estoy para servirla.
2. Agreements	A: Oye, qué bien les quedó la casa. B: Pues ya siquiera tenemos donde poner todo.
	A: Qué perro tan más bonito. Se ve que está muy bien enseñado. B: Pues muchas gracias. Es muy dócil y parece ser un animal muy noble.
II. Rejections	
1. Disagreements	A: Qué guapa se puso la Nena, Ya es toda una mujercita. B: Es que no l'as visto chupán::dose el dedo.
III. Self-Praise Avoidance Mechanisms	
1. Praise upgrades	A: No, es que tú trabajas TANTO y te sale to::do tan bien. B: Bueno, (pause) es que yo soy la maravilla del si::glo.
2. Scaling down of praise	A: Está bellí::simo tu vestido. B: Sí, está mono, verdad?

	A: El pavo salió riquísimo. Vas a tenerlos comiendo toda la noche. B: Sí, salió bien, ¿verdad?
	A: Esto está estupen::do, señorita. Es exac::tamente lo que yo quería. B: Bueno, uno hace lo que puede.
3. Disagreements	No Examples Found
qualification of compliment assertion	A: Qué bien te queda ese color. B: Pos no estoy segura de que a mí:: me guste, pero es el color favorito de Miguel.

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4. Reassignments of Praise	A: Me gustó como hicistes la oración ahora. B: Pues fue el señor el que la hizo.
	A: Qué bonita su corbata Sr. Moreno. B: Gracias, me la compró mi esposa ahora que estuvo en San Antonio.
4. Returns	A: Usted se expresó elocuentemente. No se me ocurre que pudieran quedar dudas después de lo ya dicho. B: Muchí::simas gracias. Usted::tan amable y gentil como siempre.

Examples of Additional Patterns Found

1. Acceptance Type 2

Acceptance with elliptical appreciation token followed by comment

A_1 A compliments B	A: Qué bien te ves desde que adelgazaste. No eres ni la sombra de la Leticia de hace un año.
A_2 A comments on subject of compliment assertion	B: Mientras de que no me pongas comida enfrente...así me quedo. Pero vieras que me estoy muriendo de hambre.

A: ¿Esos son los aretes que te regaló Adolfo? Están preciosos.
B: Fíjate que no hallaba ni que decirle cuando me los dio.

A: Es que usted es tan comprensiva. Sabemos que con usted contamos.
B: Bueno es que es un problema tan serio.

2. Acceptance Type 3

Question + request for repetition or expansion

A: Oye te quedó rico. Eres una señora cocinera.
B: ¿No se te hace que se me fue la mano con las fresas entonces?

A_1 A compliments B
A_2 B questions A about compliment assertion + (asks for repetition, clarification, or expansion of compliment assertion)
A_3 A repeats, clarifies expands compliment assertion

A: Qué bonito te quedó el pelo ahora.
B: ¿De veras, te gusta?
B: Sí se te ve muy bien así.

A: Oye que bien se te ve esa falda. No te la había visto.
B: Se te hace? Ando medio incómoda con que esté abierta hasta arriba.

A: No, pero se te ve muy bien, como tienes tan bonitas piernas.

A: Qué bueno que le dijiste eso. Se quedo pasmada. Y en la forma en que lo hiciste ni te pudo contestar.
B: Sí? pues qué dije? No estaba muy segura pero no quería que se quedara con la duda.
A: No, pues así estuvo mejor.

APPENDIX 2

COMPLIMENT RESPONSES AMONG MEXICAN-AMERICAN BILINGUALS

Examples of Compliment Responses Described by Pomerantz

I. Acceptances	
1. Acceptance with appreciation	A: ¿Trais blusa nueva? Qué bonita. B: Thank you..es del K-Mart.
	A: Co::mo me gusta tu traje Marcela. B: Gracias. Es de la Diana. Ay tienen muy bonita ropa pero es muy cara.
	A: Tú::no vas a tener nada. Stas muy slim and trim. B: No, si n'uengordado mucho. A: Cuántos meses tienes ya? B: casi cuatro. A: Te ves muy suave, Mrs. Pines. B: Pues muchos thenk yus
2. Agreements	A: Qué bonita se ve Lorraine de novia. B: Qué linda, verda. Miu::nica hija siempre sonriente.
II. Rejections	
1. Disagreements	A: Te ves más joven sin bigote. B: N'ombre..parece que tengo cara de niño. Nomás tengo chanza y me lo dejo crecer otra vez.
III. Self-Praise Avoidance Mechanisms	
1. Praise upgrades	No Examples Found
2. Scaling down of praise	A: Mira t'uijo anda ayudando a limpiar las mesas. Qué bueno es. B: Sí, le gusta ayudar.

A: Hi, how are you? I haven't seen you for a long time. Yer looking good.
B: Thank you. I was just telling Father Mones here that I feel as good as the first day I got married.

3. Disagreements and Qualification of Compliment Assertion

A: Jijo Irasema que bonitos vestidos usas todo el tiempo. Me gusta el que trais ahora.
B: Thank you. Este no me cai muy bien el color pero el style me gusta.

A: ¿No ti'as fijado que tienes mejor shape que todas estas jovencitas?
B: No se mi'ace pero thank you anyway.

A: Oiga que bonita camisa trai ora.
B: Es de mayate. La compré de venta pero me queda poco apretada de aquí

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4. Reassignments of Praise

A: Oye, qué suave trais el pelo. ¿Te lo cortaste?
B: No, m'ice permanente. Ya estaba cansada del otro hair style.
A: Pues te quedó muy bonito peinado todo para atrás.
B: Thank you. Mi hermana me hizo el permanente en casa.

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5. Returns

A: Qué bonita su soguilla, Sra. Pino.
B: Muchas gracias. Me la dio mi tía para mi cumpleaños.
A: ¿Es u'nazabache?
B: ¿Qu'es u'nazabache?
A: Pues dicen que es una soguilla que se ponen las mujeres muy bellas.
B: Pues me la quito... póntela tú.

Examples of Additional Patterns Found

1. Acceptance Type 2

A: Qué bonita combinación de colores.

Acceptance with ellipitical appreciation token followed by comment

A: Casi ni curling iron necesitas usar. Te queda in place el pelo.
B: Pues que agusto así ¿verdad?

2. Acceptance Type 3

Question + request for repetition or expansion	A: Jijo que gorro te cargas hoy, ese. B: Te cuadra? A: Simón ese. Está a todo vuelo.
	A: ¿Traes vestido nuevo? Qué bonito. B: Si, crees que me queda bien? Yo no sé::porque mi viejo me di::ce. You're gonna wear it. A: Sí te queda muy bonito.

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3. Acceptances using traces of politeness formulas	A: Pretty good. Ooooooh I lo::ve your blouse. B: Thank you, cuando quieras usar el pattern para hacerla yc lo tengo.
	A: Co::mo me gusta tu blusa, mujer. B: ¿De veras? Te la presto.

THE DESCRIPTION OF BILINGUAL SPEECH

Brian Warner
Arizona State University

INTRODUCTION

In this paper I wish to discuss some of the theoretical issues concerning the description of bilingual speech. The aspect of bilingual speech I will be concerned with is the phenomenon which has been called code-switching. In particular, I am interested in the grammatical description of code-switching. As well as the syntactic forms of code-switching, a complete description of bilingual speech will include a treatment of the functional constraints and social correlates of the syntactic options.

Before entering the body of the paper, I will briefly discuss the general notion of the description. I will then discuss, in turn, syntactic and pragmatic aspects of bilingual speech. In the section on pragmatic description, I will propose the adoption of a formalism for describing some aspects of bilingual speech.

ON DESCRIPTION

The first issue for clarification is what it is we are describing. Our goal as linguists is not to describe particular utterances heard at particular points in time. Rather we wish to describe the language spoken by particular groups of individuals. A precise description of a language is achieved when we describe what an individual knows about his language which allows him to speak with fellow members of his speech community. This knowledge, or language, or competence is the central object of inquiry for linguistics.

Descriptive adequacy is reached when a grammar can be formulated which correctly parallels, or models what a language user knows. A great deal of observation must certainly preceed attempts to formulate these bilingual grammars. Beginning at least with the work of Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953, 1956), bilingual studies have now reached a high degree of observational adequacy, and are at the point where further observation will rapidly degenerate into meaningless taxonomy if the task of formulating grammars is not begun. Explicit grammars will refine these observations, separate the meaningful from the superfluous, and clearly show where more observation is needed.

SYNTACTIC DESCRIPTION

I think that the syntactic description of bilingual speech is not only necessary for bilingual studies, but can also be a fruitful proving ground for syntactic theory. Any scientific endeavor is faced with the problem of defining its relevant domain narrowly enough to allow fruitful results and broadly enough that the results are not trivial. Einstein, for example, spent the last 35 years of his life attempting to derive a unified description of the physical universe, but only succeeded in narrower domains. Likewise syntactic theory has progressed remarkably with the aid of a few simplifying assumptions. The most fruitful of these has been the synchronic description of language.[1] Another assumption has been to describe the competence of the 'ideal speaker-listener' (Chomsky 1965:3). The essential point of this simplification, I feel, is that we are to describe the competence of an individual. Inter-speaker variation within a community can be great, and of interest to us as sociolinguists, but when describing the syntax, we need to restrict ourselves to the portion that is shared. If we want to go on from there, we need to describe a single individual, hopefully a highly articulate one, perhaps an 'ideal' individual. I will be assuming these simplifications here.

The simplification I propose we relinquish is that of the homogeenous speech community. It is necessary to relinquish this simplification for the description of bilingual speech, but whether or not it will be successful remains to be seen. I am convinced it can be. In order for it to be successful, the phenomenon of bilingual speech must be amenable to principled description, i.e. it must be a regular and not a random phenomenon. This point has been noted by many researchers in bilingual studies, including Hasselmo (1972), Gingràs (1974), Timm (1975), and Reyes (1976), all of whom note the existence of ungrammatical sequences in their bilingual data. (See also Beardsmore and Lee, 1975, for a discussion of bilingual competence.)

Investigators have also noted different formal varieties of code-switching. Reyes (1976) defines three tvpes of mixing. Only the first of the three does he call code-switching, which is characterized by switches at clearly discernable syntactic junctures, and the English portion has its own internal syntactic structure. Pfaff (1976) also identifies three varieties of code-switching; the first is characterized by switches at sentential, subordinate, and coordinate clause breaks. McClure (1977) notes two types of code-switching. The category she calls 'code-changing' refers, I am sure, to the same phenomenon noted by the other investigators, namely switching at the syntactic node S, whether embedded or not.

The other variety of code-swtiching that McClure (1977) recognizes she calls 'code-mixing.' This formal type is characterized by switches within major constituents. Reyes (1976) divides this category into two 'spontaneous borrowing' and 'incorporated borrowing,' distinguished by the phonological characteristics of the 'borrowed' item. Syntactically, I feel his two categories are indistinguishable, and should be treated as one. Pfaff (1976) also distinguishes this category from a third which she calls 'street talk,' or 'caló,' but I don't think she adequately defends this division on syntactic grounds.

Of the two clearly discernible types of code-switching, I would like to concentrate on the second, intrasentential code-switching.[2] Switching which only occurs at S nodes I feel will be relatively easy to capture in a syntactic framework and will not be discussed further here.[3] I would like at this point to write a short grammar for intrasentential code-switching, but although technically I am a bilingual, I am not a member of a speech community which is bilingual and regularly code-switches. Consequently, I do not feel that my intuitions about grammatical and ungrammatical sequences are representative enough and unbiased to warrant developing into a grammar. I look forward to such a code-switching grammar from Shana Poplack at the Center for Puerto Rican Studies in New York. She has a large corpus with preliminary observation underway, and ready access to native speaker intuitions. Therefore in this paper I will restrict myself to looking at published data, and commenting on them. I would like to look at data from two authors, Pfaff (1976), and Hasselmo (1972).

Pfaff bases her analysis on taped conversations of Spanish/English bilinguals in Texas and California. She discusses VP and NP configurations (under the headings 'Verb-initial switching,' and 'Adective-initial switching'). Some of her VP configurations are as follows (English portions of citations will be given in capitals for clarity):

(1) estaba TRAINING para pelear. '(he) was training to fight.'

(2) fui a CASH su cheque. '(I) went to cash his check.'

(3) *donde TEACH? 'where (do you) teach?'

(4) el perro CHEWED HIM UP. 'the dog chewed him up.'

The constraint operating in these data is one which requires an overt marking of surface subject. Spanish verbs agree with their subject NP in person and number, consequently, subject pronouns can be deleted in Spanish as in examples (1) and (2). The English lexical items are allowed in these sentences because they are preceeded by Spanish verbs which are inflected for person and number. Consequently (3) without a Spanish auxiliary and with subject pronoun deleted, has no overt surface marking of subject, and is ungrammatical. Sentence (4), with subject noun phrase present, allows English VP without number or person agreement on the verb.

Spanish/English bilinguals in some communities have constructed a new grammatical configuration which solves the problem of overt subject marking. This construction is hacer + English verb, as in:

(5) porque te hicieron BEAT UP 'why did they beat you up?'

This construction is interesting in that it has no parallel in Spanish. Sentence (5) in Spanish would be porque te golpearon not *porque te hicieron golpear. (This second sentence shows the Spanish causative construction with hacer, 'why did they make you hit (it)' but it is also ungrammatical in this form as golpear is a transitive verb and the sentence has no object.) In any case, Spanish does not use hacer as an auxilliary, except in the speech of some bilinguals before English verbs. The person and number inflection which are put on hacer satisfy the constraint which requires overt marking for surface subject.

Under NP configurations, Pfaff notes that English adjectives can be inserted even though no number and gender agreement is apparent (as Spanish requires). But a different constraint is present, namely that English adjectives cannot occur in surface structure adjacent to the modified noun. (The basis for this constraint is that in English, adjectives preceed their noun, whereas in Spanish, they follow.) Hence predicate adjectives are allowed and adjectives seperated by an adverb are allowed:

(6) estaba muy FANCY y todo. '(it) was very fancy and all.'

(7) me lleve chile ya ROASTED. 'I get chile already roasted.'

but not presumably the following:

(8) *me lleve chile ROASTED. 'I get roasted chile.'

(9) *me lleve ROASTED chile. 'I get roasted chile.'

Others, however, find these configurations acceptable. Pfaff may have been dealing with different speech communities where this constraint operated. Or the problem may be more serious. Whenever one attempts to write a grammar from a corpus, one cannot be sure that the absence of a certain configuration implies its ungrammaticality. It is imperative when analysing a dialect other than one's own to check hypotheses with a native speaker.

Hasselmo (1972) attempts to develop a generative model for code-switching which incorporates a simple and general set of restrictions for the use of English elements in American-Swedish. The principle operating is one he calls 'ordered selection,' and quite simply states that within ordered selections, the allowable configurations are E + S (English element followed by a Swedish element), E + E, S + S, but not *S + E. He claims that this principle of ordered selection holds at all levels. A few examples will illustrate his proposal better:

(10) jack-s E + E (noun + plural)

(11) jack-ar E + S (noun + plural)

(12) bred-ast S + S (adj. 'broad' + comparative)

(13) *bred-est S + E (adj. + comparative)

Within noun phrases we find the following configurations:

(14) the jack-s E + E (noun and plural + art.)

(15) jack-s-en E + S (noun and plural + art.)

(16) jack-s-en S + S (noun and plural + art. and plural)

(17) *the jack-ar S + E (noun and plural + art.)

Note that the ordering is not one of strict lineal order at surface structure. If that were the case, we would expect (17) to be grammatical, as it is E + E (E and S) at surface structure level. The ordering must apply in a derivational sequence, with lexical insertion of nouns preceeding insertion of number, and finally insertion of the article in its correct surface position. The notion of ordered lexical insertion will likely prove crucial for any bilingual grammar.

At the sentence level, Hasselmo gives the following examples:

(18) the kid-s collect-∅ green-∅ stamp-s.

(19) kid-s-en collect-∅ green-∅ stamp-s.

(20) kid-s-en collect-ar green-∅ stamp-s.

(21) *the kid-s collect-ar green-∅ stamp-s.

If we take the ordering at the level of S to be NP + VP, examples (18-21) exhibit the following configurations:

(18) E + E

(19) S + E

(20) S + S

(21) E + S

But note these configurations conflict with the grammatical ones Hasselmo wants to claim hold at all levels. He states the restriction at the sentence level such that the subject NP is dependent on the VP for its allowable Englishness-Swedishness. This is tantamount to the claim that the underlying configuration is VP + NP, and a language specific rule of 'subject fronting' must apply. More likely something else is at work here, perhaps the orders don't hold at all levels as Hasselmo wants to claim.

PRAGMATIC DESCRIPTION

In addition to the formal varieties of code-switching, many researchers have been discussing functional types of code-switching. For example, Gumperz and Blom (1972) discuss metaphorical and situational switching. A wealth of literature has arisen both on these functional types of code-switching, and on applications of them to observations of specific speech communities. Most of this literature comes out of the discipline of sociolinguistics. Labov objects to the use of this term, and complains that its use "implies that there can be a successful linguistic theory or practice which is not social" (1972:xiii). As I see it, the argument is pointless and based on a poor appraisal of the goals and subdisciplines of linguistic science. Descriptive, theoretical linguistics seeks to describe what the individual language user knows. Sociolinguistics seek to describe the language behavior of the speech community (reflecting the goals of its other parent discipline, sociology), with am emphasis on variation. These are not competing methodologies, but different and complementary goals.[4]

This is not to claim that sociolinguistics does not describe competence. The language user certainly knows appropriate varieties of speech behavior for different social situations. Where is this 'sociolinguistic' knowledge to be incorporated in a grammar which focuses on the individual? As I see it, the answer to this question is in the pragmatic 'component,' developed by the subdiscipline of pragmatics. Pragmatics originally developed as one of the three areas within the field of semiotics, which consisted of syntactics, semantics, and pragmatics. This formulation derives from Charles Pierce, and an early definition defines syntactics as the study of 'the formal relations of signs to one another,' semantics as the study of 'the relations of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable,' and pragmatics as the study of 'the relation of signs to interpreters' (Morris 1938:6, quoted from Lyons 1977:115). The elimination of pragmatics (until recently) in the last two decades of linguistic research has resulted in many insoluble problems in syntax and semantics. A good example from semantics is indirect requests. If someone should say, 'It's sure hot in here,' in the appropriate context he may mean, 'Please open the window.' Critics of semantic theory have pointed this out as a weakness of semantic theory. The important distinction, often missed, is what the sentence means, its 'literal meaning.' It is the job of pragmatics to tell us what the speaker meant in uttering the sentence. As far as I know, the reintroduction of pragmatics to linguistics stems from Grice's article 'Utterer's meaning, sentence-meaning, and word-meaning' (1968) and subsequent articles.

Hence, the functional description of code-switching belongs to pragmatics. All that is lacking is a descriptive schema. A useful one can be found in Morgan (1978). In this paper, he looks at indirect speech acts, such as 'Can you pass the salt?', and distinguishes conventions of language from conventions of usage in interpreting such sentences. As I see it, conventions of language belong to the semantic component and determine literal meaning, and conventions of usage belong to the pragmatic 'component' and determine speaker's meaning. The descriptive schema he develops is an 'occasion-purpose-means' statement, so that for example, 'Can you pass the salt?', and other indirect requests can be described with a statement such as, 'When in polite company (occasion), to request something (purpose), say 'Can you... (do something)" (means).' The conventions of language, or semantics, will assign to these sentences a literal meaning, e.g., 'Are you able to pass the salt?'. The conventions of usage, as part of the pragmatic knowledge shared by the speaker and hearer in the speech community, will assign to the utterance the meaning 'Please pass the salt.'

The occasion and purpose portions of Morgan's proposed schema coincide neatly with the two functional types of code-switching, situational and metaphorical. Examples of code-switching conventions in this occasion-purpose-means schema might read as follows:

(i) When with educated bilinguals, for emphasis, code switch at sentence boundaries.

(ii) When with bilingual friends, for attention attraction, code switch within constituents, with unassimilated borrowings.

(iii) When at the street corner, to mark ethnic solidarity, code switch within constituents, and adapt all borrowings morphologically and phonologically to second language.

It should be noted that these are illustrative examples, and not rules I have derived from study of a corpus. Also probably not all descriptions will contain both an occasion clause and a purpose clause. I suspect that in many cases, only an occasion, or situation clause is needed. This corresponds to Labov's finding that 'the social situation is the most powerful determinant of verbal behavior' (1969:11). McClure (1977) identifies four parameters of situational code-switching, participants, topic, discourse type, and setting. Of these, I think participants and setting will prove the most useful, and propose that the occasion clause of code-switching conventions be restricted to these until research clearly shows the need for expansion.

I have even more serious reservations about the purpose clause. Candidates for admission to this category include Gumperz's metaphorical switching, McClure's stylistic switching, and Jacobson's (1978) thirty-nine variables of 'sociologically conditioned true code-switching.' The goal is not to develop a taxonomy into which all instances of code-switching can be pigeonholed. Rather the goal is to identify the variables which consistently trigger a switch, and hence have some predictive value. Ad hoc proposals of new variables to cover a few instances of observed code-switching are fruitless unless followed up to determine their predictive value. If instances of a particular variable are found unaccompanied by a switch, that is strong evidence for rejection of that variable. In the final analysis, many examples of code-switching previously thought to be conditioned by sociological variables, will probably be found to have only a situational trigger.

SUMMARY

Briefly, I have tried to show that the description of bilingual speech involves the formulation of explicit grammars. Although the transformational theory of syntax is probably the most completely developed, it is not the only generative theory available. The researcher in bilingual syntax should carefully choose the theory best suited to the description of the data, pointing out crucial evaluative formulations if and when they should occur. Interesting data not covered under the subdisciplines of syntax and semantics, may well fall into the field of pragmatics. Here too, care must be taken that the formulations are explicit, with descriptive or predictive value.

NOTES

[1] Mackey (1970) defines what he calls the 'synchronic fallacy.' There is no fallacy involved, merely a simplifying assumption which has proved extremely fruitful. If one's goals and interests are in language change, there are several paradigms available, one of which, incidently, views language change as synchronic rule change.

[2] The two syntactic types of code-switching, intersentential and intrasentential, may well correspond to what has been called coordinate and compound bilingualism respectively (Ervin and Osgood 1954).

[3] I feel that the syntax of S node code-switching may prove to have some interesting characteristics in light of complementizer choice, and the language of fronted wh elements. This phenomenon deserves close scrutiny, but requires a separate paper.

[4] The sociolinguist, although dealing with aspects of phonological, syntactic, and semantic competence, does not attempt a complete formulation of this knowledge, especially those areas not involved in variation. The sociolinguist, for example, does not concern himself with the correct underlying lexical representation, or whether there is a syntactic category AUX, etc.

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PANEL DISCUSSION:

CODE SWITCHING

Beatriz R. Lavandera
Stanford University

I am interested in the phenomenon of Code-Switching in itself and as a very interesting kind of data for the development of Variation Theory. By Variation Theory I do not just mean a theory of variation, i.e., a model which focuses only on the variable part of language but a theory of language which accounts for the fact that all languages show systematic and significant variation. Labov has stated explicitly that the sociolinguistic questions are the same that are asked in a general theory of language (Labov 1972).

I will here list only three of the many possible ways in which Code-Switching can be related to this type of theory and I will elaborate on the third way because I think it has been explored less.

The first way in which Code-Switching can be handled within the study of variation is by dealing with Code-Switching as one of the varieties in a speaker's repertoire or in a community's repertoire (Gumperz 1971). Code-Switching can be shown in some cases to be functionally equivalent to part of the range of a monolingual repertoire. Most of the evidence we have on Mexican-American speech suggests that the Code-Switching variety corresponds to a colloquial register to address peers (Gumperz and Hernández-Chavez 1975, Gumperz 1976).

Another interesting issue within Variation Theory derives from claiming that in many instances it is the switch itself rather than either of the languages involved which takes on significance. The theory should therefore allow for the possibility of signals being morphological, syntactic (i.e., word-order), suprasegmental, frequency relationships (Labov's linguistic variable), and processes such as 'switching'.

Again, as far as the function of Code-Switching itself, the bilingual phenomenon finds a correlate in monolingual variation in cases such as the one studied by Wolfson (1979) of switching between two different tenses.

The third possibility of applying Variation Theory to the study of Code-Switching has not been undertaken thoroughly and this neglect is causing unnecessary controversy. Paez-Urdaneta, in an unpublished paper (Paez-Urdaneta 1979) pointed out that most of the polemics about linguistic constraints and counterexamples to such constraints could be cleared up if sociolinguists were willing to acknowledge the existence of variation and change in Code-Switching.

I agree with this observation and I find it interesting that the same linguists who subscribe to Weinreich, Labov and Herzog's theory of linguistic heterogeneity which claims that absence of variation would be dysfunctional (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968), carry out the discussion on Code-Switching as if we were dealing with a homogeneous code of Code-Switching. Data from one register or social variety of Code-Switching is presented as counterevidence to constraints stated on the basis of data from another regional or social variety of Code-Switching.

I am aware of the fact that several sociolinguists have distinguished among types of Code-Switching. A good example of a careful distinction which also isolates intrasentential Code-Switching as the most sophisticated kind of Code-Switching is Poplack (1979), and there are others.

What I mean now is that even within intrasentential Code-Switching there is no reason to expect that the linguistic constraints found to work for one group of bilingual speakers will be operative for another group or even for the same group along the years. There might be some universals of Code-Switching constraints but there will probably be fewer and of a more general character than what has been assumed. (See Poplack 1979 for very general constraints such as equivalence constraint and free morpheme constraint).

I would like to recommend a quantitative study[1] for Code-Switching of the same problems that we are exploring elsewhere: acquisition of Code-Switching, social stratification of Code-Switching, inherent variability in Code-Switching, changes in progress in Code-Switching, universals of Code-Switching (looking at different combinations of languages in contact[2]), etc.

Finally, I would like to point out that if, as has been claimed, there is some process equivalent to creolization associated with Code-Switching, we can expect to find a higher rate of change in Code-Switching varieties than in relatively monolingual speech.

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[1] See Lavandera 1978 on some of the difficulties in carrying out quantitative studies beyond the level of phonology. Such difficulties are however not insurmountable and Code-Switching offers an especially interesting area to refine the analytical techniques.

[2] Maria Beebe at Stanford, working on Tagalog-English Code-Switching, for example, seems to find that the free morpheme constraint is not clearly present in Code-Switching which involves agglutinative languages such as Tagalog.

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Florence Barkin
Arizona State University

Investigations into code switching center around two principal issues, grammatical constraints and sociolinguistic determinants. Pfaff (1975), McClure (1977) and Barkin (1976, 1978, 1979) have attempted various classifications of switching phenomena. Different sociolinguistic factors such as age and education, as well as topic, situation and interlocutor may come into play when a speaker switches on the level of the word, clause or sentence, i.e., anywhere within discourse (Valdés-Fallis, 1978). The elucidation of the intricate factors involved in the switching process up until this point has emphasized the very integrity of bilingual speech variation. Rather than standing apart the two languages come into close contact with one another, seldom overstepping the basic syntactic boundaries of either of the two languages.

In addition to specific typologies of code switching, linguists have discussed syntactic restrictions (Gingràs 1974, Timm 1975, Poplack 1978, 1979) to name only a few. While linguists have discovered the rule-governedness of code switching they have not begun to distinguish its rules from those of the monolingual code(s). These rules must include both syntactic and sociolinguistic factors.

In the following presentation, I would like to discuss the following concerns:

1) Acquisition of code switching in children and adults.
2) Relationship of code switching to other bilingual phenomena.
3) Syntactic and phonological constraints.
4) Comparison to pidgin/creole situations.
5) Specification of definition of code switching.
6) Paucity of data both raw and analyzed.
7) Underlying grammar of code switching.
8) Relationship to language proficiency.
9) Establishment of a data bank for bilingual discourse.

1) Acquisition of code switching in children and adults. Linguists have just begun to study the development of sociolinguistic awareness and/or differentiation of registers in children. In beginning stages of acquisition of two languages, children tend to use elements of both languages. Often such use appears to be indiscriminate. The one-language one-person model of acquisition, for example, may encourage separation of the two languages at a later stage of development. However, in many bilingual communities, code switching may be typical of parents' speech to children (Huerta 1977). Studies investigating language acquisition in different bilingual environments would contribute to our understanding of language acquisition and code switching.

2) Relationship of code switching to other bilingual phenomena. Code switching has been examined as a phenomenon in and of itself.

Nevertheless, it may represent only one of the characteristics of bilingual speech. While certain bilinguals appear to utilize it and avoid syntactic, phonological and lexical influences of one language upon the other, others show evidence of other linguistic manifestations of language contact. Code switching, while interesting in isolation, must also be viewed as part of an overall verbal strategy employed by bilinguals.

3) Syntactic and phonological constraints. While research has been undertaken in the area of the syntactic structure of code switching, there is much more to be done. In addition, phonological constraints on code switching may also come into play. Such appears to be the case in code switching in Spanish-Guaraní song (Rivas, this conference).

4) Comparison of code switching to pidgins and creoles. From recent research into code switching and pidgins and creoles, there appear to be many sociolinguistically based differences that encourage pidgins and creoles and not code switching. Both these factors and specific linguistic manifestations of all of these phenomena may shed light on the complexity of the bilingual contact situation. In addition, similarities may enable linguists to uncover certain linguistic universals that apply in monolingual and multilingual situations.

5) Specification of definition of code switching. Code switching has been defined in many ways. It may or may not include isolated unassimilated lexical items of one language in another. Further classification of code switching as a rule governed phenomenon carrying certain social significance and therefore bound by specific situational/contextual restrictions is necessary. On the one hand we must avoid over-limiting the definition; on the other, it is important for all of us to understand how code switching differs from other bilingual phenomena.

6) Paucity of data. One of the problems involved in studying code switching is the recording of conversations in which it occurs, i.e., natural, casual speech. Techniques are being developed to further encourage code switching and its recording. For example, Poplack (1978, 1979) emphasizes of group membership when eliciting code switching. Nevertheless, most researchers have relied on contrived measures of determining both syntactic and sociolinguistic factors involved. While recording of everyday speech is time consuming and its analysis and coding taxing, it is the only way in which at this initial stage of development of a theory and/or theories of code switching, that we can be certain that we have not overlooked certain factors. In addition, measurements of acceptability, grammaticality and/or appropriateness often prove inaccurate. Speakers' self reports about what they say are often different from what they actually say.

7) Underlying grammar of code switching. While certain syntactic rules and grammatical constraints have been proposed, code switching as a rule-governed phenomenon, must be investigated in depth. A clearer picture of bilingual language categorization may emerge through a

careful and complete analysis of code switching. Moreover, this bilingual phenomena may contribute to general linguistic theory and help uncover certain linguistic universals heretofore unspecifiable in monolingual speech.

8) Relationship to language proficiency. It has been proposed that code switching of certain types indicates a high level of proficiency in both languages (Valdés-Fallis, 1974, Barkin, 1976, 1977, Poplack 1978, 1979). What the specific relationship to proficiency is to code switching needs further investigation. Can we diagnose proficiency by studying how people code switch? What kinds of structures are used in code switching that indicate a speaker's proficiency in either or both languages? These questions and others must be answered in some detail.

9) Establishment of a data bank for bilingual discourse. One of the problems involved in doing research in bilingualism is the difficulty in collecting data. Many linguists continue to record data specific to their studies. Still others find it nearly impossible to analyze the data they have collected. Our mutual interests in the area of bilingualism should bring us into close collaboration, even about the same data. I would like to encourage the establishment of a data bank which would include recordings, and sociolinguistic background information which could be coded to enable researchers to retrieve specific information of interest to them when investigating an issue. If anyone here is interested in such an idea, let us get together and discuss it.

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Lucía Elías-Olivares
University of Illinois

Although many of the articles on Spanish-English code-switching have greatly increased our knowledge and understanding of the social and linguistic constraints on this mode of speaking, some of the following questions remain still unanswered:

- What are the attitudinal implications of code-switching, especially with regard to language maintenance efforts in bilingual education?
- What are the bilingual communities' perceptions of their sociolinguistic situation? Is code-switching an issue at all in these communities? We have almost no societal information on the linguistic aspirations of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans in this country. Furthermore, very seldom are community members themselves included in the planning and development of language research.
- How dependent is code-switching on the individual and socioeconomic characteristics of its speakers? Is it possible to categorize speakers according to their switching habits?
- What is the exact relationship between code-switching and language dominance or language proficiency?

Perhaps some of the problems are caused by the methodological approaches followed and the research instruments currently being used. A considerable number of the studies on code-switching do not deal with data collected in actual social interaction, even though this type of linguistic behavior is a highly spontaneous speech variety normally used in ethnic-defined informal settings and situations. The data come usually from projects aimed at exploring a few subjects' cognitive awareness of code-switching patterns through the utilization of acceptability judgment tests and questionnaires. When oral interviews have been used, these have tended to be done with a single informant instead of setting up group interviews. Other studies have used data from written texts after which the authors draw general conclusions about how people switch languages or varieties of languages in bilingual communities. Can we really equate code-switching in informal speech with the switching of codes in literary works? Do these writers and poets code-switch in everyday life? Are these patterns found in the field? This type of literary work generally involves a planned experience and writers and poets do not always reflect the language patterns in use in the communities.

I think that some very good work has been accomplished on Spanish-English code-switching in the last five or six years, but much needs to be done especially with regard to the use of this highly heterogeneous code in natural conversations. This will hopefully correct the present situation in which everytime one examines some of the linguistic constraints proposed, one finds that they are not supported by the data one has collected.

Pedro Pedraza
Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños

The work I will report on here is only one part of an interdisciplinary effort and is based exclusively on ethnographic methods, i.e., participant observation and informal informant interviewing. There were three stages of development. The first involved discovering all the social networks that existed in a Puerto Rican neighborhood in East Harlem and describing their size, participants, activities, locales, time of activity, and language usage generally. The second stage progressed to the more detailed observation of language usage for three key networks chosen as representative of the community. The last stage encompassed the observation, formal and informal interviewing, and tape-recording of individuals in these three social networks. Our relationships with members of the networks evolved from a stage of being acquaintances of friends, or friends of friends, to one of being intimate and trusted companions. It must be stated clearly that members of the research team were never considered outsiders though we had to cultivate our membership in the social networks themselves. This natural membership, due mainly to the ethnicity we shared with block residents, allowed us to avoid what Labov has termed the "observer's paradox." In fact I was able to record all types of naturally occurring speech for our linguistic analysis towards the end of the more than two-year study.

Our method of analyzing habitual language use was both sociological and linguistic. These two ways of analyzing language behavior yielded for us a qualitative measurement, i.e., relative preference for usage of each language by person, topic, place, setting, and activity, and a quantitative measurement, i.e., linguistic features whose distribution could be precisely counted against various independent variables such as speaker characteristics and speech style.

Our study focuses on language use in public spheres of life and encompasses observation of all members of the community from adolescents to senior citizens, and all types of activities in various settings, such as stores, social clubs, playground, street, and church. It includes various speech acts, such as joking, flattering women, arguments, stories, etc. Limiting the study to the public domain of social life obviously neglects other important domains such as the work place, undeniably a very important influence on adult speech, and the home, which is equally influential. Our rationale for choosing the streets, so to speak, is based on the notion that all possible linguistic influences play a role in this domain, an assumption derived principally from our common-sense knowledge of the community as members ourselves.

All in all, it can be said that while linguistic skills are differentially spread throughout this community, the community as a whole generally exhibits a minimum level of bilingual abilities that allows for communication across all sectors. (Pedraza 1979). It is perhaps this stable bilingual situation which has given rise to a frequently observed variety of speech in the community: code-switching. All speakers, except for a few strictly monolingual Spanish speakers, exhibited code-switching abilities. It was very informal casual settings, especially with mixed participants in terms of language abilities, which elicited the most code-switching from members, e.g., gambling, drinking, gossiping, joking, etc. There were some people who used code-switching as a preferred mode of communication most of the day, e.g., women born and/or raised in New York City, and sometimes it was impossible to tell whether they were speaking in a base language of Spanish or English.

Our linguistic analysis (Poplack 1979) has corroborated the observation that far from being deviant behavior, code-switching is in fact a skill. It has also demonstrated that code-switching is not monolithic behavior. There are several types whose occurrence varies according to a speaker's bilingual abilities, sex, age of arrival, and place of employment. Our ethnographic analysis corroborates that code-switching is a community-wide norm. Our use of the field methods of ethnography therefore allowed us to combine both sociological and linguistic analysis and provided us with a large data base of natural speech.

IX

LANGUAGES IN CONTACT: THEORETICAL CONCERNS

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ELERICK, CHARLES (University of Texas at El Paso) TWO ASPECTS OF SPECIAL COMPLEXITY IN THE UNION GRAMMAR OF THE ENGLISH/SPANISH BILINGUAL: English and Spanish share hundreds of cognate lexical items which are similar enough phonologically and semantically for the bilingual to recognize their relatedness and for this recognition to be a part of the grammar, the union grammar, of such a speaker. Similar forms from the two languages of the bilingual seem to be stored together and the evidence for such common storage is to be found in the innovative items frequently heard in the speech of Spanish/English bilinguals (Nash, 1974; Elerick, 1978).

On the assumption that innovations such as *gasolín* (c.f. *gasolina*/'gasoline') and 'actitude' (c.f. 'attitude'/*actitud*) reflect the effects of simplification of inter-language lexical entries, a more thoroughgoing baseline union phonological grammar for English and Spanish was constructed (Elerick, to appear) in order to better understand the nature of such grammars and their role in linguistic innovation. The essential outline of this grammar is outlined in the present paper.

Two problems that arose in the preparation of the above mentioned inter-language grammar are dealt with in the present paper as aspects of special complexity in an extended model of bilingual phonological grammar. One issue is that of the status and correct handling of such pairs as 'formula'/*fórmula* in which both the English and Spanish manifestations show a reflex of a common item final non-consonantal segment and 'site'/*sitio* in which pair the English member shows not only the regular deletion of the item final non-consonantal segment but also the deletion of the preceding non-consonantal segment as well, both cases contrasting with the prevalent pattern exemplified by 'tribe'/*tribu*; 'history'/*historia*; 'gallery'/*galería*.

A second aspect of special complexity is that occasioned by the idiosyncratic presence of a segment or sequence of segments in one language specific manifestation. Examples of such pairs are *orquesta*/'orchestra'; *salvaje*/'savage'; *bicicleta*/'bicycle'. These and other similar pairs are treated as cases of "privative suppletion," a lexicographic principle that can be shown to have applicability in both inter- and intra-language grammars.

KROSKRITY, PAUL V. (University of California, Los Angeles) LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LINGUISTIC DIFFUSION: THE ARIZONA TEWA SPEECH COMMUNITY: In a recent article Franklin Southworth called for a "typology of linguistic outcomes of language contact situations" thereby scoring the need for a holistic approach to language contact which affords appropriate emphasis to both the products of linguistic diffusion and the socio-cultural forces which permit or inhibit such diffusion. In the present paper I contribute toward the aforementioned typology by examining some significant portions of the contact history of the present Arizona Tewa speech community as well as that of their ancestors over the past five hundred years. In this manner data is reported for the contact of Arizona Tewa with 1) Apachean Languages, 3) Spanish, 3) Hopi, and 4) English in successive stages of the history of the speech community.

In each case the nature and extent of linguistic diffusion will be detailed and examined in the wider context of inter-cultural relations and the attendant socio-symbolic meaning of linguistic borrowing in each instance. In the case of pre-colonial contact with Apacheans some grammatical interference can be detected yet no lexical diffusion can be substantiated. In contact with the colonial Spanish linguistic diffusion is limited to less than two dozen loanwords despite intensive culture contact. In the case of contact with Hopi, the neighbors of the Arizona Tewa for almost three hundred years, linguistic diffusion is limited to a single minor innovation in the phonological sub-system. Finally, in the case of contact with English I report the findings of my recent research on intra-speech community variation in the Arizona Tewa speech community--a study which establishes the presence of considerable grammatical interference from English in the Arizona Tewa grammars of younger speakers as well as extensive lexical borrowing.

From these data several patterns emerge for which a number of explanatory propositions may be advanced. Among these are the following: one, the diffusability of a given linguistic item (a lexical item, an instance of phonological, syntactic, or semantic interference, etc.) is dependent upon its popular salience. As in Gumperz and Wilson's Kupwar study, these findings support the conclusion that lexical items, unlike the less salient processes of phonological and syntactic interference, are more subject to the conscious evaluation of members of the speech community and, hence, more subject to a symbolic evaluation based on the perceived status of inter-ethnic relations. A ranking of linguistic phenomena along the dimension of salience is accordingly proposed, expanded, and offered as testable hypotheses. Two, the antithetical outcomes of compartmentalization and convergence between two or more languages in the linguistic repertoire of a speech community are not necessarily indexical of the duration and stability of the contact situation--such outcomes depend critically upon the functional roles these languages occupy in the speech community. Of particular importance in this regard is the popular evaluation of languages as emblems of ethnic identification.

The paper concludes by attempting to distinguish generalizations specific to the ethnohistorical and ethnographic situation of the Arizona Tewa from those potentially applicable to all instances of language contact.

SOBIN, NICHOLAS (Pan American University) ON DELETION RULES AND TRANSFERENCE: Ideas on how the syntax of one language may influence the structuring and production of another have varied widely. Where Weinreich (1967) claims a wide range of possible grammatical influence, Dulay and Burt (1974) advance the hypothesis that second language acquisition and production are not effected positively or negatively by first language syntax. Data involving movement or placement rules have provided much of the support for the non-transference hypothesis. This paper will focus on deletion phenomena, and in particular gapping and verb phrase deletion. Data gathered from college freshmen, 70% of whom spoke

Spanish as a first language, are shown to indicate a surprising amount of separation of English deletion rules and the analogous processes in Spanish. There appears little or no evidence of influence from Spanish deletion processes on intuitions about reduced sentences in English. This finding further supports the non-transference hypothesis and suggests that the possibilities of one language influencing the development of the syntax of another language either in the short or long term are highly restricted or non-existent.

TWO ASPECTS OF SPECIAL COMPLEXITY IN THE UNION GRAMMAR OF THE ENGLISH/SPANISH BILINGUAL

Charles Elerick
University of Texas at El Paso

English and Spanish share hundreds of cognate lexical items. The relatedness of the members of such pairs as 'center'/centro, 'episode'/episodio, and 'complete'/completo is obvious to the linguist. The fact that they are related is also frequently noted and discussed in un-scientific ways by linguistically naive English/Spanish bilinguals. Of interest to the linguist is the form such recognition of relatedness takes in the internalized grammar of the bilingual. The linguist's task in this regard is to devise a formal representation of the aspects of the bilingual's grammar that corresponds to such a speaker's unconscious linguistic knowledge concerning the relatedness of these and other such pairs of items.

Basic to a discussion of this matter is the at least tentative choice of a theory of language storage. Swain (1972) discusses the relative merit of positing a common or separate storage model to account for phenomena associated with multi-variety competence, including bilingual competence. She argues that the former, a common storage model, is a preferable theory and she adduces evidence throughout her work on the syntax of French/English bilinguals to support her position.

The evidence for the common storage of lexical material by English/Spanish bilinguals is quite persuasive. Bilinguals are frequently heard to use forms that evidence the **rapprochement** of already similar items from their two languages. Such **rapprochement** takes place as the result of a change in the grammar of the speaker or as a temporary lapse that may presage a grammatical change. Since language change normally takes place as the result of tendency to simplify the grammar (King, 1969) and since there would be no such simplification if we were dealing with two separate storage systems, we must conclude that the language specific manifestations proceed from a common, inter-language lexical representation.

Nash (1974) offers the following examples of forms which are used as English items by **Puerto Rican** bilinguals and which I assume reflect lexical reorganization.

1) 'actitude' for 'attitude'; c.f. Sp. actitud
2) 'pintoresque' for 'picturesque'; c.f. Sp. pintoresco
3) 'voluntaries' for 'volunteers'; c.f. Sp. voluntarios

Innovative items frequently heard in the Spanish of English/Spanish bilinguals in the Southwest and which also reflect the drive for lexical and phonological simplification, and thereby a common storage grammar, include the following.

4) empushar for empujar; c.f. Eng. 'push'
5) cualidad for calidad; c.f. Eng. 'quality'
6) gasolín for gasolina; c.f. Eng. 'gasoline'

In a recent paper (Elerick, 1978) I have shown in formal terms how the innovation of gasolín, ansestor, alcajol, populacíon and other items in the Spanish of English/Spanish bilinguals can be construed to be the consequence of common storage, that is, the existence of inter-language union lexical entries. The following "before and after" exemplary derivations illustrate how the appearance of innovative replacement forms in one of the two languages of a bilingual may evidence the reorganization of that speaker's grammar. The forms, putative union representation, and phonological derivations corresponding to the pre-innovation grammar is presented first, followed by the analogous material corresponding to the innovative grammar.

7) 'telephone'/telefono

/telefōno+/	/telefōno+/
telefōn (final V. del.)	telefṓno (minor stress rule)
tḗlefṓn (stress assignment)	tēlḗfōnō (V. tensing)
tḗləfṓn (vowel reduction)	

8) 'telephone'/telefṓn

/telefōn+/	/telefōn+/
tḗlefṓn (stress assignment)	telefṓn (regular stress assignment)
tḗləfṓn (vowel reduction)	tēlēfṓn (V. tensing)

In a further study of the formal characteristics of inter-language phonological grammar (Elerick, to appear) I have presented a more elaborate and integrated but nevertheless restricted demonstration grammar using English and Spanish items. Following are two exemplary derivations from that paper.

9) /spIa/

spI (final vowel deletion)	spÍa (stress assignment)
spÍ (stress assignment)	espÍa (epenthesis)
spáy (vowel shift)	ēspÍā (vowel tensing)
'spy'	espía

10) /hūmor/

hūmoɹ (r retroflection)	ūmor (h deletion)
hyūmoɹ (glide insertion)	ūmór (stress assignment)
hyū́mòɹ (stress assignment)	ūmṓr (vowel tensing)
hyū́mə̀ɹ (vowel reduction)	
hyū́mɹ̩̀ (coalescence)	
'humor'	humor

It is my purpose in the present paper to discuss certain problems that arise in the process of extending the theory of English/Spanish bilingual grammars and to advance solutions to these. I will limit my discussion to the linguistic relationships that obtain between English/Spanish lexical counterparts that motivate two types of special complexity in the inter-language grammars of speakers of these two languages.

Special complexity, or irregularity, as it is sometimes and less elegantly referred to, involves, for phonology, the identification of lexical items or individual segments that behave in some way that differs from that which would be expected, given the grammar as a whole. In this way, the preterite of 'catch' is not *'catched' but the irregular 'caught'. For a seminal discussion of special complexity see Lakoff (1970).

Special complexity is apparently present in the grammars of all languages and so we should expect it to be a factor in the union grammars of bilinguals. Accordingly, it is proper to employ the concept and formalisms of irregularity in constructing a bilingual grammar. The question is, of course, what types of and how much irregularity does a bilingual grammar include. I do not attempt to answer this question in a global sense in this paper but I do advance two claims which I consider to be a partial answer.

A union lexicon that may reflect the competence of an English/Spanish bilingual can be greatly expanded when special category features are assigned to appropriate segments in the union lexical representation corresponding to certain pairs of items. An extended example of such expanded treatment made possible through the introduction of special segment category features follows. This material involves items which are special with respect to the handling of word final non-consonantal segments or word final sequences of two such segments. Normally, that is to say, with high frequency, Spanish items that have a relatable English counterpart manifest a word final segment that is not present in the English form. The following pairs illustrate this general principle.

11)	'tribe'	tribu
12)	'debate'	debate
13)	'fame'	fama
14)	'east'	este
15)	'soup'	sopa
16)	'apathy'	apatía
17)	'history'	historia
18)	'mystery'	misterio
19)	'seminary'	seminario
20)	'gallery'	galería

To account for these forms it is necessary to posit lexical representations that include an item final non-consonantal segment (/trIbu/ for 11), /dEbAte/ for 12), etc.) and among others, a phonological rule of this approximate form.

EPh 1) [-cons] → Ø / ___#

There are many additional items in Spanish and English that seem to motivate union lexical entries but which are special in that they retain the final non-consonantal segment in their English manifestation. Items in this sub-class include the following.

21)	'idea'	idea
22)	'taboo'	tabú
23)	'menu'	menú
23)	'nausea'	nausea
24)	'radio'	radio

The union lexical representations corresponding to these paired items are complicated by the diacritical marking of the final non-consonantal segment as [-EPh 1]. This imparts special status to the segment so marked, blocks its deletion and accounts formally for its manifestation in the surface form. For a discussion of the role of such formalism within the framework of generative phonological theory see Chomsky and Halle (1969, p. 173f).

A third set of items follow the general pattern exemplified by pairs 11-20 except that the Spanish and English forms motivate not only the deletion of the word final non-consonant segment but also the non-consonantal segment that preceeds it. This sub-class is exemplified by 26-32.

26)	'space'	*espacio*
27)	'notice'	*noticia*
28)	'patience'	*paciencia*
29)	'palace'	*palacio*
30)	'site'	*sitio*
31)	'science'	*ciencia*
32)	'photograph'	*fotografía*

We can assume that pairs of items such as these are also stored in union lexical entries and that the underlying representations are reconciled with the surface manifestations by certain rules from a larger set which, for the English derivation, include EPh 1) as above and a rule, EPh 2, that deletes the final segment in the representation that is the output of EPh 1.

EPh 2) $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{cons}\\ +\text{EPh } 2\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset$

This rule, having as a part of its structural description the feature [+EPh 2], necessitates the inclusion of this feature in the lexical representation of every item it applies to.

One English/Spanish bilingual I know has the pair

33) 'abundancy'/*abundancia*

in place of

34) 'abundance'/*abundancia*

We can assume that in the grammar of this speaker the union lexical entry corresponding to these two items has been simplified by the erasure or non-development of the diacritic [+EPh 2] associated with the next to final non-consonantal segment. Such innovation through simplification is to be expected and constitutes evidence in support of the theory advanced here. To recapitulate, there are three major types of items in the English/Spanish lexicon with respect to the handling of word final non-consonantal segments or sequences of two such segments in the English manifestation. There is a regular class exemplified by 35.

35) 'fine'/*fino*; / fIno/

There is a special sub-class that retains the final non-consonantal segment in the English manifestation, exemplified by 36.

36) 'formula'/*fórmula*; /formūla/

[-EPh 1]

There is a second special sub-class the members of which have English manifestations that evidence the deletion of both the item final non-consonantal segment and the non-consonantal segment that preceeds it.

37) 'line'/*línea*; /lInea/

[+EPh 2]

A second and closely related issue is that of the status and proper treatment of pairs of English/Spanish items such as the following.

38) 'paradise'/*paraíso*

39) 'salt'/*sal*

40) 'orchestra'/*orquesta*
41) 'incredible'/*increíble*

In this group the English items are ideosyncratically different from their Spanish counterparts in that there is present in the English manifestation a consonantal segment that does not appear in the corresponding Spanish form. Another group of items illustrates the opposite situation; the Spanish manifestation has an "extra" consonant.

42) 'savage'/*salvaje*
43) 'slave'/*esclavo*
44) 'rabbi'/*rabino*
45) 'tank'/*estanque*

One could advance a solution along these lines. The segment that appears in the manifestation of one of the two languages but not in the other could be marked for deletion by a minor rule in the phonological component that relates the deep forms to their surface manifestations. In this way 'salt'/*sal* would be represented as

39a) /salt/
⋮
[+EPh n]

and 'slave'/*esclavo* would be represented as in 43a.

43a) /sklAvo/
⋮
[+EPh n]

In the English/Spanish lexicon there are also pairs such as these. The Spanish manifestations in 48-52 show a VC sequence that is not present in the English form. An item final non-consonantal segment will be handled in the regular and now familiar fashion.

46) 'bicycle'/*bicicleta*
47) 'cord'/*cordón*
48) 'office'/*oficina*
49) 'lamp'/*lámpara*
50) 'page'/*página*

Marking both these segments for deletion in the English derivation as in the case of the previously discussed examples of this general class (38-45). Instead, I will offer a different solution for this sub-class and additionally propose it as an alternative to the single consonant deletion items presented above. This solution involves treating certain items as instances of **"privative suppletion"**, a term I believe is new as of this writing and which will be explained below. This proposed aspect of inter-language grammar is analogous to that advanced for the intra-language storage of certain lexical items in Latin (Elerick, 1972).

In Latin there are a number of nouns that are problematic in that they have stems that vary from one case/number form to another and this variance is in terms of a segment or sequence of segments being present in one grammatical environment and absent in another. Some examples are these, represented in broad phonetic transcription.

51) [sẽneks](Nom. Sg.),[sẽnis](Gen. Sg.); 'old man'
52) [ĩter](Nom./Acc. Sg.),[itĩneris](Gen. Sg.); 'route'
53) [kõnyũnks](Nom. Sg.), [kõnyugis](Gen. Sg.); 'wife'

For the vast majority of Latin nouns all cases and numbers are derived from a single, invariable stem. The nouns in 51-53 follow the general pattern with the complication of having part of each lexical representation marked for selective inclusion in the form that is input to the phonological rules.

The lexical representations along with the pertinant case/number specific underlying representations appear as follows, omitting material not relevant to this discussion.

51a) /sen[ek]/; /senek+s/(Nom. Sg.); /sen+is/(Gen. Sg.)

⋮

$$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{Nom.}\\-\text{Pl.}\end{bmatrix}$$

52a) /it[in]er/; /iter+0/(Nom./Acc. Sg.); /itiner+is/(Gen. Sg.)

⋮

$$\sim\begin{bmatrix}+\text{Nom.}\\+\text{Acc.}\\-\text{Pl.}\end{bmatrix}$$

53a) /koniu[n]g/; /koniung+s/(Nom. Sg.); /koniug+is/(Gen. Sg.)

⋮

$$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{Nom.}\\-\text{Pl.}\end{bmatrix}$$

The importance of this excursus for the theory of English/Spanish bilingual grammar is that, as noted above, it provides an example of an intra-language lexical problem and solution that supports the positing of a similar solution to a similar problem in inter-language grammatical description. The union lexical representations to be posited for items 38-50 will have the following form.

37a) /para[d]Iso/'paradise'/paraĩso

⋮

E

44a) /[s]tanke/'tank'/estanque

⋮

S

48a) /ofis[in]a/'ofice'/oficina

⋮

S

The appearance of such a form as 'actitude', 1) above, would be the result of the simplification of the inter-language grammar by the erasure of the privative suppletion brackets and language designation. Of course, the occurence of such innovations does not in itself constitute support for the privative suppletion solution over the deletion solution advanced and rejected earlier. The documentation of the effect of bracket erasure in items involving multiple segment privative suppletion would be important evidence in support of this theory.

In this paper, I have tried to advance on a narrow front the theory of bilingual, inter-language grammar. I have, by implication, attempted to advance the notion that to deal with the phenomenon of bilingualism it is necessary to approach the matter as an exercise in the application of linguistic theory. The history of the field of linguistics in the past two decades shows that continuing and concerted efforts to study language within a formal framework produce, in the long term, impressive results. It is my hope that others with a serious interest in bilingualism will direct their energies toward projects that will enhance our understanding of the nature of bilingual competence.

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LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LINGUISTIC DIFFUSION:
THE ARIZONA TEWA SPEECH COMMUNITY

Paul V. Kroskrity
University of California, Los Angeles

Within Southwestern linguistic scholarship, as within Anthropological Linguistics in general, the treatment of language contact has been characterized by a preoccupation with the products of diffusion rather than with the diffusion process itself (e.g. Hoijer 1939, Trager 1944, Spencer 1947, Miller 1959-60). As Gumperz and Wilson (1971:152) observe:

> Students of bilingualism and language contact so far have concentrated primarily on the end effects of these diffusion processes. There has been almost no direct investigation of the actual mechanisms involved.

While this focus on the linguistic artefacts of diffusion rather than on the sociolinguistic processes which create them has enabled some descriptive accomplishments which are notable for their taxonomic precision (e.g. Cassagrande 1954-5), it has nevertheless seriously undermined a holistic approach to language contact.[1] One of the consequences of this failure to examine language contact in its socio-cultural context is a dearth of insight into the nature of the socio-cultural concomitants of linguistic diffusion. Just what are the socio-cultural factors which promote or inhibit diffusion? What types of diffusion (e.g. lexical or grammatical, phonological or syntactic, etc.) are the expected outcomes of such conditions as multilingualism, inter-ethnic interaction, etc.? In an attempt to address these and comparable questions, the Indologist Franklin Southworth (1971:256) has called for a "more precise sociolinguistic typology of outcomes of language contact".

In the present paper I seek to contribute to such a typology by examining some significant portions of the contact history of the present Arizona Tewa speech community as well as that of their ancestors over the past five hundred years. In this manner data will be reported for the contact of Arizona Tewa and its antecedents with, in receding temporal order, English in the 20th century, Hopi since the 18th century, Spanish from the 16th century, and Apachean in prehistoric times. First I will report, in abbreviated form, the findings of my recent sociolinguistic research in the Arizona Tewa speech community.[2] This study examines language contact and incipient change as it is manifested in the form of patterned, inter-individual linguistic variation. Since this change is ongoing and since it therefore offers an opportunity to directly view language contact in its socio-cultural context, I will devote considerable attention to this particularly instructive instance. The remaining instances of language contact will be examined as examples in which a holistic view of language contact must be achieved by the more indirect means of ethnohistorical investigation and inferences from linguistic data.

CONTACT WITH ENGLISH

As in other Pueblo communities like Sandia (Brandt 1970), Acoma (Maring 1975), and Cochiti (Fox 1959) where similar situations have been reported, the speech of younger members of the speech community exhibits considerable linguistic acculturation or what might be better termed, following Weinreich (1953:1), linguistic interference. Most of these younger ($\leq$ 30 years old) speakers, in contrast to their elders, employ English as a dominant language and exhibit what is perceived by older speakers as impaired proficiency in Tewa and often little or no proficiency in Hopi except for kinship terms and polite expressions.

Yet despite the fact that older members of the speech community view the Arizona Tewa speech of young people as defective they seldom, if ever--as at Acoma (Maring 1975:480), offer correction. The perceived deficiencies in the speech of the young are located by older speakers in the phenomenon of lexical attrition and the replacement of indigenous terms by their English counterparts. Though sociocultural change has prompted some adaptive 'shifts' (Herzog 1941) in the lexicons of older speakers, younger Tewa display an abandonment of formerly productive strategies of semantically extending native terms and/or compounding two or more such terms in order to create lexical resources for non-tradtional concepts.[3] Older Tewa also cite two additional kinds of evidence insupport of their claim that younger Tewa possess a diminished proficiency in their native language. Younger people, they claim, no longer command vocabulary items associated with such native economic activities as planting, hunting, herding, and related activities. Even more serious is their charge that younger people have forgotten all but the morphologically most fundamental verbs. Many young people openly concede that that they no longer know how to say "a whole sentence in one word"--as one young man phrased it--though they view this inability as a consequence of changes associated with modernization and not, as their elders often maintain, as evidence of 'moral' degeneration.

As with other social variables-ones which I have treated more fully elsewhere (Kroskrity 1977:241-249)--to which linguistic variation is attributed in the members' account, the co-varying linguistic phenomena are primarily located at the lexical level. This finding closely parallels that of Gumperz and Wilson's Kupwar study in which they observed (1971:101-2) that lexical items and their inflectional properties appear to provide the phenomenal basis for the folk perception of what constitutes the defining attributes of a given language. Though the Arizona Tewa perceive age-based variation as primarily a lexical phenomenon, the speech of younger Arizona Tewa--as we shall see--exhibits striking syntactic and semantic differences from the speech of their seniors. In fact, as at Acoma (Maring 1975:480), it appears that grammatical interference from English is at least as significant at these sub-system levels as it is at those which are more recognized by members of the Arizona Tewa speech community.

Consider Table 1 which represents an abbreviated summary of my findings regarding syntactic and semantic variation within the Arizona Tewa speech community.

Table 1
Syntactic/Semantic Indicators

	Age Groups (in years)		
	I ≤ 30	II >30<50	III ≥50
Production Type: Elicited Response/ Spontaneous Speech	ER/SS	ER/SS	ER/SS
A % of phrasal conjunctions realized as NP-á-dí NP.	90/84	48/44	38/42
B % of passives realized in accord with the semantic condition: Subject of Passive= +animate.	74/46	90/84	98/94

Group I consisted of members under 30 years of age. In this group age correlated with ignorance of the ceremonial sub-code, use of English as a dominant language and the preferred language of intra-group interaction, and replacement (approximately 30%) of native vocabulary in the Arizona Tewa code with corresponding English terms.[4] Group II consisted of members between the ages of 30 and 50. Like the younger group, members of this group displayed no command of the ceremonial sub-code.[5] However they differed from members of Group I in two important respects. One, they used all the codes in their linguistic repertoires with approximately equal facility and in accord with a more 'context-sensitive' notion of appropriateness.[6] Two, they exhibited greater compartmentalization of codes as manifested in relatively little (<10%) lexical replacement. Group III consisted of members of 50 or more years of age. They characteristically displayed conversance with the ceremonial sub-code--in contrast to the members of both other groups. Like members of Group II they also exhibited a more balanced implementation of all the component codes in their linguistic repertoire and comparable code-switching behavior.

In the first task represented above, I attempted to measure differential propensities to realize instances of phrasal conjunction in the surface Structure pattern [NP-á-dí NP Verb Complex$_S$]. For an example, the translation equivalent of 'the man and the woman' may be alternativly realized in Arizona Tewa as any of the following logically equivalent expressions.

1. sen-ná-dí kʷiyó da-cu·de-ˀɛˀɛ (man-EMPHATIC-ASSOCIATIONAL[7] woman 3d:dual:stative-enter-:come) *The man and the woman are entering.*
2. sen-ná-dí kʷiyó-wá[8]-dí da-cu·de-ˀɛˀɛ (man-EMPHATIC-ASSOCIATIONAL woman-EMPHATIC-ASSOCIATIONAL 3d:dual:stative-enter:come) *The man and the woman are entering.*
3. sen kʷiyó-wá-dí da-cu·de-ˀɛˀɛ (man woman-EMPHATIC-ASSOCIATONAL 3d:dual:stative-enter:come) *The man and the woman are entering.*

Table 1 shows that speakers of Group I display a marked increase in the production of phrasal conjunctions which are realized as the first of the three aforementioned alternatives (i.e. [NP-a-di NP Verb Complex $_S$]). Both the elicited responses (ER) and the spontaneous speech (SS) of this group indicate that though speakers of Groups II and III realize less than half of their utterances involving phrasal conjunction in this manner, speakers of Group I approach uniformity in their reliance on this variant as the sole means of realizing phrasal conjunction.

Moving to the second measure, we should note that all dialects of Tewa, like Navajo--an Apachean language for which a comparable phenomenon has been previously attested (Hale 1973, Creamer 1974), exhibit semantic constraints on the well-formedness of passive and active sentences. In Navajo, entities designated by nouns may be hierarchically ranked so as to provide a basis for a rule of semantic interpretation which declares as ill-formed those sentences in which the hierarchically subordinate noun precedes the superior noun in surface structure. The comparable Arizona Tewa phenomenon employs not an elaborate hierarchy but rather a simple binary discrimination between animate and non-animate NPs. Another difference between these languages is that in Tewa, in contrast to Navajo, the logical object (or AGENT argument) is marked by the postposition /-dí/. In other words linear order of NPs in Tewa need not reflect their grammatical relations since this information is morphologically encoded in Tewa passive sentences. A consequence of these differences is that the rule of semantic interpretation must be restated in the Tewa case so as to refer not to the serial order of noun phrases but rather to the occupant of the grammatical relation 'subject of' a passive verb. These observations are exemplified by sentences 4-7 below.

4. nɛ-ˀi sen he-ˀi pɛh mán-hey (this man that deer 3d subject:3d object:active-kill) *This man killed that deer.*
5. he-ˀi pɛh nɛ-ˀi sen-dí ˀó·-hey (that deer this man-ASSOCIATIONAL 3d subject:3d object:passive-kill) *That deer was killed by this man.*
6. he-ˀi sen nɛ-ˀi p'o mán-su-n (that man this water 3d subject: 3d object:active-drink-TENSE) *That man drank this water.*
7. *nɛ-ˀi p'o he-ˀi sen-dí ˀó·-su-n (this water that man-ASSOC. 3d subject:3d object:passive-drink-TENSE) *This water was drunk by that man.*

Sentences 4 and 5 represent an active-passive alternation in which the passive sentence is semantically well-formed partially because the surface subject fulfills the condition of animacy. When this condition is violated as in 7--the passive alternative of 6--the result is a semantically ill-formed sentence.

Here again Group I exhibits notable differences in speech behavior from that of Groups II and III. Whereas speakers of these other groups consistently observe the semantic constraint in both elicited and spontaneous speech, speakers of Group I only approximate this in the careful more self-monitored style permitted by the elicited response--an indication which suggests that some stylistic control based on reflection and perhaps recollection of traditional notions of semantic well-formedness of the passive prompts such a response. But while this knowledge appears retrievable in situations where it is made problematic for the speaker--such as the task of translation--the spontaneous speech score on this linguistic variable indicates that when problematicity for the speaker shifts away from linguistic production adherence to the semantic constraint approaches random frequencies.

In contrast to the statistically insignificant differences which prevail between these and the other measures employed for Groups II and III, Group I manifests consistent and marked differences. Collectively these indicators reveal a pattern of grammatical interference from English in the internalized Arizona Tewa grammars of Group I. In order to substantiate this claim two issues must be adequately addressed. One, the observed differences must be ones predisposed by a consideration of the surface facts of English. Two, some evidence must also be presented to account for why differential interference exists--since English is included in the repertoire of all the Arizona Tewa speakers sampled, why is it that only members of Group I, the younger speakers, provide demonstrable evidence of linguistic interference? In order to deal with each of these points, a brief review of some linguistic and ethnographic details is necessary.

Regarding the former, an examination of the linguistic variables below clearly demonstrates that the grammar of English does provide a plausible source of grammatical interference for the observed pattern.

1. The pattern of phrasal conjunction most widely employed by speakers of Group I is that which is structurally isomorphic with its English counterpart: [NP-á-dí NP $_{NP}$], [NP and NP $_{NP}$].

2. Though aware of the traditional semantic condition on the semantic well-formedness of passive sentences which is regularly observed by members of Groups II and III in both elicited and spontaneous speech, members of Group I do not systematically produce sentences which accord with this semantic condition in their spontaneous speech. The fact that less than half of the sentences in this sample were realized in what, from the perspective of older speakers, constitutes a grammatically well-formed manner suggests that the Tewa passive is undergoing re-analysis in the speech of younger Tewa on the model of English in which no comparable semantic constraint exists.

Collectively then linguistic interference has proven to be a plausible explanation for the patterned differences in the internalized grammars of Arizona Tewa of younger speakers--at least those grammars which can be inferred from their linguistic production. The internalized grammatical rules which underlie production and interpretation of phrasal conjunctions and passives in English and Arizona Tewa thus appear to have converged (Gumperz and Wilson 1971) or atleast to have approximated convergence with respect to these phenomena. The compartmentalization of codes which accounts for the relative lack of grammatical interference in the speech of Groups II and III no longer acts as a nearly impermeable barrier between co-existing codes in the linguistic repertoire of younger speakers. The presence of both lexical and grammatical interference in the speech of younger members of the Arizona Tewa speech community testifies to the breakdown of compartmentalization as a symbolic strategy for maintaining the distinctiveness of co-existing codes within the code matrix.

Having illustrated the plausibility of an interpretation of grammatical interference from English as the cause of the patterned variation in these instances of syntactic and semantic behavior, it seems appropriate to return to the question of why the younger speakers' speech exhibits such a marked degree of linguistic interference from English. Foremost among these factors is the formation of a new and influential 'reference group' (Shibutani 1962) which has 'recruited' a majority of young people--one that has been fostered by the formal education provided by the government, nurtured by the increasing penetration of the mass media into reservation life, and transported from the urban based boarding schools which most Arizona Tewa attend for the duration of their secondary education. There the fact that English is the sole langauge of instruction as well as the only language in common for young Indians of various Southwestern tribes, though important, is perhaps not as significant as the removal of younger people from the traditional socializing influences of kinsmen and other community members. When subsistence agriculture played a major role in the economy of the reservation, the practical activities of planting, cultivating, herding, etc. constituted an obligatory part of one's informal education--an education which entailed significant inter-generational interaction with kinsmen and community members. Today subsistence patterns have yielded to a cash economy in which the economic security of a household depends on the wage work or salaried employment of at least one of its members. Yet for young people the slim economic base of the reservation affords few opportunities and acts as a 'push-factor' (Hodge 1971:349)--a force which encourages abandonment of the reservation in either a physical--actual urban migration--or psychological sense--the adoption of a non-traditional, 'urban' orientation.

In keeping with this urban orientation, English is employed as the preferred language of intra-group interaction and since such interaction comprises the bulk of all their inter-personal relations--a testament to the diminished influence of family and other kinsmen--English may be properly regarded as the dominant language of the vast majority of young people. Whereas the Arizona Tewa language continues to serve as a badge of ethnicity for older speakers, younger members have adopted English as a symbol of their non-traditional orientation. Their habitual use of English even in response to remarks addressed to them in Arizona Tewa by their parents violates traditional expectations regarding code-switching behavior and both signals the disparity of values attached to the component codes of the linguistic repertoire by members of different generations and symbolically invokes a competing non-traditional perspective from which meanings are differently assigned to actions and objects. By so responding young people manifest both their rejection of more traditional norms and values--as factors to be considered in the generation of appropriate behavior--and their allegiance to a new reference group from whose perspective they prefer to formulate and evaluate their actions.

A direct examination of the contact between English and Arizona Tewa has proven instructive in regard to at least three issues. One, it clearly demonstrates the differences between the folk and analytical perspectives as they pertain to the salience of linguistic phenomena. In contrast to linguists, who tend to regard the grammar as--in essence --the language (Bolinger 1973:8), non-linguist members of speech communities appear to equate a language with its lexicon. The significance of this observation resides in its implications for diffusion: if grammatical phenomena are less subject to the awareness of speech community members and therefore less subject to the evaluation which awareness would permit, then we, as analysts, must be prepared for differences--in both pattern and rate of change--in lexical and grammatical diffusion. The fact that no significant differences in either rate or pattern of diffusion for grammar and lexicon have been established here may be variously attributed to: one, the relatively short history of contact with English in the form of stable multilingualism (approximately 60 years) and, two, the relatively narrow focus of the study. In other words the present study can not be understood as a refutation of the observation concerning salience and its implications.

A second observation which should also be noted is the facilitating role of multilingualism in producing linguistic diffusion. In linguistic terms, the role of multilingualism is to introduce variants at one or more sub-system levels which represent instances of linguistic interference. The chance of such variants to be both 'innovated' and 'propagated' is further enhanced by 'societal' (as opposed to individual) multilingualism (Miller 1978:613) which both increases the likelihood of independent innovations and promotes a more uniform social evaluation of variants.

A final instructive observation here is the relationship of language and ethnicity. Compartmentalization and its antithesis--convergence, at both the lexical and grammatical levels, are significantly influenced by the symbolic roles occupied by the languages in contact. I will defer a discussion of language and ethnicity until I can provide evidence from the Hopi contact situation since this instance provides an even more effective demonstration of the importance of ethnicity to language contact.

CONTACT WITH HOPI

In marked contrast to the convergence described above, the rela-

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tionship of Tewa to Hopi in the linguistic repertoires of Arizona Tewa speakers has been and continues to be one of almost complete compartmentalization. Despite nearly three centuries of contact between the two codes and stable societal multilingualism during most of this period, a single phonological innovation remains the only candidate for a diffused linguistic trait.[9] Arizona Tewa, unlike all the Rio Grande Tewa dialects (Speirs 1966), possesses a voiced, lateral phoneme (/l/). Table 2 provides examples of cognate forms in two dialects which, with the exception of some regular correspondences and partial reduplication, differ only in the addition of the /l/ segment.[10]

Table 2
Tewa Dialects and /l/

Arizona Tewa	Rio Grande Tewa	Translation
-cála	-cáʔ	to cut
ni·li	di·	chicken
p'o·lo	p'ô	road
-tɛ̨lɛ	-tɛ̨·	to pull
wo·lo	wo·	medicine
ka·la	ka·	leaf
na·la	na	aspen
t'ó·loʔ	t'ó·	sage
-mi·li	-bi·	to turn
me·le	be·	bowl, ball

The Hopi case thus appears aberrant. Despite co-residence with the Hopi and considerable social accomodation to them, intermarriage, and stable societal bilingualism in the two codes, no significant trace of linguistic diffusion can be detected. Why? The answer, in part, hinges on the relationship of language and ethnicity and the symbolic role of the Tewa language.

The long period of co-residence on First Mesa, after the migration of the ancestors of the Arizona Tewa from their former Rio Grande pueblos, manifested itself in considerable borrowing from the Hopi. As Barth observes (1969:16-17):

> Entailed in ethnic boundary maintenance are also situations of social contact between persons of different cultures: ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked differences in behavior, i.e. persisting cultural differences. Yet where persons of different cultures interact, one would expect these differences to be reduced, since interaction both requires and generates a congruence of codes and values.

In the Arizona Tewa case, increased interaction with the Hopi generated a discernable congruence of codes and values in the areas of kinship behavior and ceremonial organization. While the terminology of the kinship system closely resembles that of the Rio Grande Tewa, the kinship system itself is structurally akin to the Hopi system, featuring matrilineal emphasis and strict matrilocal residence (Eggan 1950:41, Dozier 1955). These features represent a marked departure from the more patrilineal emphasis and patrilocal residence patterns which typified Rio Grande kinship structure. Clans were also borrowed from the Hopi and equated with Hopi clans either nominally or mythologically. Changes in kinship structure enabled intermarriage between members of the two groups to occur without disrupting social patterns. The establishment of clans facilitated the legitimization of Tewa land-holdings since all properties are viewed as belonging to the clan. Both of these developments may be construed as attempts by both Hopi and Tewa to enlarge kinship networks and to ensure economic security and stability. In addition, the Arizona Tewa have borrowed the Kachina cult (Eggan 1950:164). Dozier summarizes these changes in the following manner: "It is interesting that when elements could be incorporated within the Tewa pattern without endangering cultural aloofness, borrowing was in order" (Dozier 1951:61). Dozier's statement may seem somewhat paradoxical: despite extensive borrowing from the Hopi, the Arizona Tewa still retain a distinct culture ans a discrete status as a separate ethnic group. Yet how is this accomplished?

The answer to this problem is at least partially a symbolic one. As inter-ethnic interaction over a long period of time has reduced the total inventory of tangible socio-cultural differences which formerly characterized the two groups, the persisting differences assume a new symbolic function as badges of identity or, in Barth's terms, "diacritica" (Barth 1969, Jackson 1974). For the Arizona Tewa one of the most significant of these diacritica continues to be language. The Arizona Tewa language, as an exclusive possession of the Arizona Tewa themselves, serves as tangible evidence of persisting differences between them and their Hopi neighbors--differences which attest to the penetration of the present by the past.

This instance of contact with Hopi thus proves especially instructive in illustrating how the symbolic function as emblem of ethnicity can insulate a language from diffusional processes--even in situations of long-standing, societal multilingualism.

CONTACT WITH SPANISH[11]

This pattern is somewhat replicated in the case of contact with Spanish but whereas in the Hopi situation I was able to isolate at least one candidate for phonological borrowing, in the Spanish instance borrowing is limited to the lexicon. Table 3 provides a list of Spanish loanwords in Arizona Tewa which can be relatively securely established.

Table 3
Spanish Loanwords in Arizona Tewa

	Arizona Tewa	Spanish Source	Translation
1.	bán	pan	(wheat) bread
2.	cini	chili	chili
3.	ci·yo	cuchillo	knife
4.	k^{h}a·pe	cafe	coffee
5.	kula·nto	cilantro	coriander
6.	k^{w}enu	cabrio	goat
7.	limon	limon	lemon
8.	mansana	manzana	apple
9.	mɛlo·ni	melon	melon
10.	mų·la	mula, mulo	mule
11.	mų·lu	burro	donkey
12.	mų·sa	miza	cat
13.	sani·ya	sandia	watermelon
14.	tomati	tomate	tomato
15.	ʔų·ba	uva	grape
16.	wak'a	vaca	cow
17.	wa·yu	caballo	horse

Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of this list is its brevity. Despite the fact that the Tano--the ancestors of the present Arizona Tewa--were subjected to the most intensive contact of any of the Eastern Pueblo villages during the century-long contact period before the Pueblo Revolts of 1680 and 1696, only 17 loanwords exist. Qualitative analysis of these loanwords reveals the superficial nature of the borrowing--they are primarily labels for the Spanish "imports": plant-derived foodstuffs (2, 4, 5, 7-9, 13-15) and domesticated animals (6, 10-12, 16 and 17).

Unlike Rio Grande Tewa which has borrowed a considerable amount of religious and governmental terminology from Spanish (Dozier 1964: 514), Arizona Tewa exhibits only loanwords that refer to the material innovations offered by the Spanish. Thus whereas Dozier provides Rio Grande Tewa examples such as kumpá·re^{h} (from Spanish compadre *godfather*), konfesâ (from Spanish confesion *confession*), and pi^{h}kâ from Spanish fiscal *official*) comparable loanwords are conspicuously absent in Arizona Tewa. This difference is, of course, due to the fact that the Tano escaped a prolonged period of contact with the Spanish, after re-conquest, by migrating to First Mesa. The superficiality of linguistic borrowing is further evidenced by the lack of lexical elaboration afforded to the terms introduced by the Spanish. In contrast to Rio Grande Tewa which has admitted Spanish loanwords that often preserve the gender and age distinctions of the source language, Arizona Tewa has borrowed only a single undifferentiated lexeme to which native terms must be compounded to yield comparable semantic distinctions. Thus whereas Rio Grande Tewa possesses loanwords that lexically distinguish stallion from mare and calf from cow, Arizona Tewa--as Table 4 indicates--has only borrowed one term per species to which the native words for woman, boy, girl, etc. must be appended to yield greater specificity.

Table 4
Contrastive Elaboration of Spanish Loans in Tewa

Spanish	Rio Grande Tewa	Arizona Tewa	Translation
vaca	wá·si^{h}	wak'a-k^{w}iyó (bovine-woman)	cow
becerro	becero^{h}	wak'a-e·nu (bovine-boy)	calf
yegua	ǰe·wa^{h}	wa·yu-k^{w}iyó (horse-woman)	mare
caballo	kavaǰu^{h}	wa·yu-sen (horse-man)	stallion

Thus in the analysis of Spanish loanwords in Arizona Tewa--their scarcity, selection from restricted semantic domains, and lack of lexical elaboration--we have found, in Arizona Tewa, evidence of extreme compartmentalization which we can infer to be the linguistic response to to the intolerance and suppression of the early Spanish colonial program (Dozier 1964:148-9). Despite the shared experience of the initial hundred years of Spanish domination--before the migration of the Tano in the wake of the Pueblo Revolt of 1696--the ancestors of the Arizona Tewa disrupted the otherwise ongoing acculturative influence of the Spanish that the more tolerant Eastern Pueblo adaptation permitted. The relative lack, both quantitatively and qualitatively, of Spanish loanwords which I have documented for Arizona Tewa and the absence of any vestige of the Spanish-Catholic ceremonial system continue to provide contemporary indices of different historical adaptations to Spanish culture contact (Dozier 1958).

Here the contrast between patterns of admission of Spanish loanwords in Arizona and Rio Grande Tewa should not be explained solely by reference to the longer period of direct contact experienced by the Rio Grande Tewa--though this is certainly important. Of key significance is that during this longer period of contact a pacification and diversification of Pueblo-Spanish inter-ethnic relations was effected thus providing a symbolic environment more conducive to diffusional processes--both cultural (Ortiz 1969:62-71) and linguistic.[12]

CONTACT WITH APACHEAN

In contrast to the previous contact situations which have just been described, the contact between Tewa and Navajo--which I infer from apparent linguistic diffusion--occured in a past so remote that it precedes the historic period in the American Southwest. Also in contrast to the preceding contact situations, the contact and diffusion which I delineate here is not restricted to the present Arizona Tewa speech community or its ancestral speech community. Since the apparent diffusion appears in all dialects of Tewa, the relevant contact with Apachean must be traced back to a relatively undifferentiated speech community which is ancestral to all historic Tewa-speaking pueblos.

My objective here is to briefly summarize my preliminary findings in regard to Tewa-Navajo diffusion (Kroskrity, in preparation). First I will present, in abbreviated form, the pertinent evidence and then I will offer a discussion of its implications.

The evidential basis for the claim of Tewa-Navajo diffusion consists of five observations.

1. The Tewa passive (as exemplified above by 4-6) is characterized by a) the occurrence of passive prefixes, b) the fore-grounding of Patient-Subjects, c) agent-marking, and d) a semantic constraint on Subjects (i.e. that they be animate NPs).[13] Few of these features, with the exception of agent-marking, are replicated by any other Kiowa-Tanoan language. In all of these languages "passives" simply appear to be sentences containing verbs inflected for intransitivity which permit an AGENT argument--they lack distinct passive prefixes. The Tewa passive not only represents a family anomaly in this regard but also a Southwestern one as well. With the exception of the Apachean languages, no other neighbor possesses a comparable phenomenon. Navajo, for example, not only has passive prefixes but also the other features as well--with the exception of agent-marking. Yet while the presence of agent-marking can be explained in Tewa as the result of genetic inheritance the other characteristics cannot be similarly dismissed. Since only three other causes of linguistic similarity exist--language universals, diffusion, and accidental convergence--and since these similarities can not be dismissed as language-particular manifestations of language universals, only two possibilities remain: chance and diffusion.

2. As Larry Gorbet (1977) has recently demonstrated, relative clauses in both Tewa and Navajo are structurally similar to those of many other Southwestern languages. Most of these languages possess "headless" relative clauses: relative clauses which lack a syntactic head noun and have a lexical instance of the semantic head in the embedded sentence. Examples 8 and 9 illustrate representative relative clauses in Tewa and Navajo respectively.

8. na· he-ˀi sen c'a·ndi ˀų·ba-p'o mə́n-sun ˀi dó-kumɛ (I REMOTE-3d man yesterday grape-water 3d subject:3d object:active-drank 3d 1st Subject:3d object:active-buy) I bought the wine which that man drank yesterday.

9. hastiin bįįh bit'adéldooh-ę́ę neiis'ah (man deer I:shot-REL butcher) The man butchered the deer which I shot. (from Hale and Platero 1974).

In each example the semantic head has been underlined so as to emphasize its location in the embedded sentence. My interest here, however, is not to merely exemplify the "headless" nature of these relative clauses but rather to focus attention on the relativizing morphemes as well. In Tewa the third person pronoun positioned to the immediate right of an embedded sentence functions as the relativizer. When "suffix"-ed to non-sentential material, such as uninflected verb stems, the same pronoun also functions as a simple nominalizer. So common is this occurrence of the constituent ˀi that J. P. Harrington (1910:498) ignored its basic role as the third person pronoun and translated it as "that already refered to" thus capturing its anaphoric function. The only other language in the Southwest with a recognizable anaphor as a relativizer is Navajo where, as example 10 demonstrates below, the Navajo relativizer is attributed a meaning which is very similar to that previously provided for Tewa ˀi.

10. łii-éę̬ dilwoˀ (horse-"aforementioned" fast) *The aforementioned horse is fast*.

As with Tewa, the relativizer in Navajo is a multifunctional constituent which, in addition to its relativizing function, can be employed in nominalizations and in the formation of adjectival, or appositive, structures. Here Sapir (1935:136) reminds us that what I have referred to as the relativizer appears to be an Athabaskan family trait--though a trait more elaborately developed in the Apachean languages where it has not been restricted to the formation of sobriquets (as in non-Apachean Athabaskan). An additonal similarity, and one which can not be treated as a retention from Proto-Athabaskan on the part of Navajo, is that in both Tewa and Navajo, headed relative clauses exist as unpreferred stylistic alternatives.

3. Classificatory Verbs in Tewa and Navajo reveal apparent similarities which warrant examination as potential instances of linguistic diffusion. These verbs "assign to their object nouns certain qualities of number, shape, texture ... the verb stem has a meaning which refers to the shape of the noun and the noun has a shape which permits it to occur with that stem" (Davidson et. al. 1963:30). Hoijer's (1945) study of classificatory verbs in Apachean discriminated 12 frequently occurring classes. In contrast to this elaborate classificatory system, the Tewa classification--according to Anna Speirs (1974:56) discriminates only five classes. Though classifications like the Tewa one occur in all other Kiowa-Tanoan languages, the available comparative data suggests that Tewa alone has a containerized class. The presence of this apparent innovation in Tewa and the existence of an Apachean analog suggests the possibility of diffusion.

4. Several postpositions and grammatical morphemes have strikingly similar forms in the two languages. These include the POSSESSIVE morpheme, a numeral suffix, and various directional postpositions.

5. It should be noted, as possible counter-evidence, that at present no lexical borrowing of content words can be established between the two languages.

Though a more definitive assessment of this evidence awaits some much needed genetic-historical linguistic research on language families represented in the Southwest, the discernable pattern at present seems best explained by linguistic diffusion. What are the ethnohistorical implications of such an interpretation? Any account of language change and, of course, language contact is not merely a depiction of the collision of disembodied verbal symbolic systems but, implicitly, an account of speech communities as well. The pattern of diffusion which I have briefly sketched would seem to presuppose considerable individual, if not societal, bilingualism in these languages and significant, stable networks of communication between the two groups. Does the ethnohistorical literature meet these expectations? Initially it might appear that it does not. Nowhere do we find any pertinent documentation which explicitly acknowledges Indian bilingualism in these languages. The record, however, must be viewed as a less than systematic collection of impressions by untrained Spanish observers. If we attend to the indirect references to inter-ethnic relations between Pueblo Indians and Apacheans offered by the Spanish documents, we find mention of several key "institutions" which could well have promoted considerable bilingualism. These include: 1) the existence of periodic and regular trade fairs for the regulation of commerce between Pueblos and Apacheans, 2) the tradition of winter settlement by Apachean groups just outside the walls of various pueblos, 3) the military alliances between Apacheans and Pueblo Indians during the frequent outbreaks of inter-pueblo hostility, and 4) the tradition of seeking refuge among Apacheans by individual Pueblo Indians, their families, and even larger segments of villages on occasions of exceptionally extreme oppressive actions by the Spanish (Hammond and Rey 1966:345, 484; Hodge 1907:356-7; Hester 1971:51, Schroeder 1972:55). This evidence of sustained inter-ethnic relations which is available in some 16th and early 17th century records withers in later documents, particularly those after the Pueblo Revolts of 1680 and 1696. Spanish Colonial disruption of pre-contact inter-Indian relations gradually transformed these more amicable relations into the typical raiding patterns and attendant hostile relations between the Navajo--the most "puebloized" of all Apachean groups--and the Pueblos into more recent historical times. Thus the historical plausibility demonstrated above complements the linguistic interpretation of diffusion.

CONCLUSION

Cases of diffusion, such as the Tewa-Navajo instance outlined above, represent a special challenge for the student of linguistic diffusion. Here no direct observation of sociolinguistic processes is available to the researcher and the indirect view provided by ethnohistorical investigation is too fragmentary to enable a reconstruction of the relevant details of the contact situation. In such cases, the products of diffusion may, themselves, represent the best available source of inferences concerning the socio-cultural contexts of language contact.[15] But whether evidence of linguistic diffusion can be effectively employed in illuminating the past or not depends critically upon our success as researchers, in developing a sociolinguistic typology of the outcomes of language contact as an interpretive guide. As I stated in my initial paragraph,the tendency to view diffusion largely in terms of its products has inhibited the development of a holistic approach which stresses the inter-systemic relations between linguistic, social, and cultural systems. Thus instead of elucidating systems we must first confront the more rudimentary, taxonomic task of identifying the relevant variables. It was toward this goal that I offered the preceding discussion. Again, it is toward this goal that the following observations, in summary, are directed.

Code-internal Properties. All natural languages exhibit certain structural problems at various sub-system levels (gaps, ambiguities, exceptions, complications, vestigial forms) which may actually predispose borrowing *if* the potential source language provides compatible resources (lexical, grammatical, etc.) for resolving these problems (e.g. the borrowing of a subordinating morpheme from Spanish by Yaqui (Lindenfield 1974). Another code-internal source which can be detected is the tendency of speakers to regularize analogous structures in two or more languages so as to effect a convergence in the codes. Examples of this are provided by Gumperz and Wilson's (1971) Kupwar study and the interference of English on the Tewa grammars of the younger speakers.

Code-functions. The symbolic/functional role a language plays in expressive/instrumental tasks influences its candidacy for diffusion--witness the relative imperviousness of Arizona Tewa in its contact with both Spanish and Hopi. We can infer a well circumscribed role for Spanish in the linguistic repertoires of the Tano in pre-Pueblo Revolt times --that of economic and political subordination. Such a functional specialization of Spanish must have actually promoted compartmentalization thereby minimizing its influence on co-existing codes in the linguistic repertoire. In the case of contact with Hopi--a language which has assumed a more diversified usage pattern (Kroskrity 1977:209)--the emblematic significance which most Arizona Tewa attribute to their native language has served to insulate it from diffusion despite the long duration of stable contact with Hopi.

Multilingualism. The facilitating role of multilingualism in effecting diffusion is re-affirmed in the preceding studies. While some stray lexical borrowings can occur in non-multilingual situations, more elaborate lexical borrowing and borrowing at other subsystem levels seem to presuppose multilingualism. The distinction between societal and individual multlingualism (as in Miller 1978:614)is useful not only in distinguishing the degree to which members of a speech community share a second code but also in pointing out our ignorance concerning the types and degrees of diffusion which correlate with each of these types of multilingualism. Lacking an ethnographic analogy for a contact situation involving significant individual multilingualism and lacking a knowledge of what diffusion is produced in that contact situation, I have no principled basis for interpreting societal or individual bilingualism as an informing factor in Tewa-Navajo diffusion.

Language Attitudes. The often remarked 'linguistic conservatism' of of the Pueblos (Sherzer 1976:233) clearly has had an influence on diffusion in the American Southwest though scholars disagree in their interpretation of its impact on multilingualism and diffusion. Wick Miller (1978: 613) seems to conclude that the 'extreme ethnocentrism' of the Pueblos manifested itself in the form of a denigration of second language-learning whereas I (Kroskrity, in preparation)contend that it was not bilingualism itself that was so devalued but rather the language-mixing, or linguistic interference, which bilingualism could produce. Further ethnographic work must be undertaken on language attitudes and their implications for linguistic behavior in the Pueblo Southwest. One thing, however, is certain: the patterns of diffusion which we will be able to elucidate in the Southwest will differ markedly from, say, those of the Northwest Coast where language attitudes actually promote diffusion rather than inhibiting it (Miller 1978:611).

Diffusability of Linguistic Elements. The English contact study summarized earlier replicates some of the findings of Gumperz and Wilson's (1971) Kupwar study in regard to the popular salience of linguistic phenomena. Gumperz and Wilson (1971:161) found that linguistic phenomena can be ranked in accord with their degree of popular awareness. Most available to such awareness are the 'content word' nouns. Significantly less available are adverbs, conjunctions, postpositions, and other grammatical phenomena. The implications of this finding for diffusion are clear: linguistic elements of high popular salience will be subject to the symbolic evaluation of the speaker--a factor which, given the cultural predisposition to devalue interference, could inhibit diffusion. Those elements of low popular salience would escape such evaluation. Recall the pattern of diffusion between Tewa and Navajo--some grammatical borrowing, no discernable lexical borrowing. This pattern may well be the product of the differential diffusability of these linguistic phenomena.

Notes

[*] This paper is based on research on Arizona Tewa conducted from 1973 to 1978 in Tewa Village, Polacca, and Keams Canyon, Arizona and on Navajo conducted in 1977 in Klagetoh, Arizona. This research was variously supported by the Graduate Scool of Indiana University, the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society, and the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund of the Whatcom Museum of History and Art. To these institutions I express my gratitude for their support. The present paper represents a synthetic presentation of old and new materials. I have treated Arizona Tewa contact with English and Spanish in a more comprehensive form elsewhere (Kroskrity 1978a, 1978b). I have also treated Tewa-Navajo contact in a more comprehensive fashion in a paper which I am currently preparing for publication (Kroskrity, in preparation). The present paper presupposes some familiarity with the Arizona Tewa. Dozier's (1954) ethnography remains the best introduction to the relevant social and cultural information.

[1] By a holistic approach to language contact I mean one in which contact is examined from the complementary perspectives of language structure (autonomous linguistics) and language use (the ethnography of speaking, sociolinguistics). Within such an approach the former perspective supplies information concerning code-internal factors which may facilitate or inhibit borrowing. The latter provides information as to the degree of awareness, nature of social evaluation, and social meaning which members of a speech community may have endowed a particular linguistic trait with. The present study is not offered as exemplary but rather as an initial adumbration of its realization.

[2] A more comprehensive exposition of this research is available in Kroskrity 1978a. There I discuss other measures which have been deleted here for space considerations. The data is, of course, quite consistent with my findings for the two measures reported here.

[3] For example, the oldest word for 'automotive vehicle' was wa·-te·ge --literally wind wagon. This word has been replaced in the lexicons of all but the oldest (>90) speakers by /athu/ a phonemically retouched loan from English 'auto'. Today younger speakers (≤30) simply employ /kar/ in utterences that are otherwise encoded in Tewa despite the fact that [r] does not occur in the Arizona Tewa grammars of older speakers at either a phonemic or phonetic level of analysis.

[4] My use of non-syntactic/semantic criteria to rank speakers was, in part, an attempt to detail for the reader those manifestations which first suggested the relevance of age as an explanatory variable.

[5] By 'no command' of the ceremonial sub-code I mean no generative capacity in the following sense: in regard to song and narrative production I mean the ability to not only repeat previously composed songs and oral texts but to also compose new songs and texts in the traditional style.

[6] By 'context-sensitive' notion of appropriateness I mean to designate --however imperfectly--a code-switching strategy in which code selection and code-switching are guided by a speaker's consultation of such contextual features as participants, setting, topic, etc. In other words I mean a strategy in which codes are actually switched in reference to the aforementioned contextual features. The code-switching strategy of younger Arizona Tewa, in contrast, appears to be insensitive to these features since variation in their configuration usually fails to evoke corresponding code-switching behavior where they would evoke such behavior from older speakers. Terming the traditional code-switching strategy 'context-sensitive' is of course somewhat inappropriate since it implies that the younger speakers' strategy is utterly immune to considerations of situated appropriateness when, in fact, this appears so only if evaluated from the traditional perspective and its attendant expectations. Yet from the perspective of the young people--a perspective from which meanings are differently assigned to actions and objects in the generation of socially appropriate behavior--context is not so much ignored as it is differently interpreted.

[7] The ASSOCIATIONAL postposition, /-dí/, is a polysemous constituent which is variously interpreted as with, by, and, etc. depending upon its immediate syntactic environment.

[8] [ná] and [wá] are allomorphs of /-á-/, the emphatic, which are derived by morphophonemic rule. For specific details consult Kroskrity 1977:131.

[9] This statement requires some qualification. The Arizona Tewa have adopted Hopi place-names and designations for certain cultural concepts. Such loans, however, are never phonologically integrated into Tewa and they never represent a replacement, or even an alternate, for a pre-existing Tewa lexical item.

[10] Some of the productive correspondences between Rio Grande Tewa (RGT) and Arizona Tewa (AT) are: RGT /r/ = AT /d/; RGT /f/ = AT /p^h/; RGT /ǰ/ = AT /y/; RGT /č/ = AT /k^y/; RGT /x/ = AT /k^h/; RGT /b/ = AT /m/.

[11] For a more comprehensive account of language contact between Spanish and Tewa consult Kroskrity 1978b.

[12] Though it is true that Rio Grande Tewa experienced significantly more linguistic borrowing from Spanish than did Arizona Tewa, I do not mean to suggest that such borrowing ever flourished. Dozier (1964), in a classic article which contrasts linguistic borrowing from Spanish in Yaqui and Rio Grande Tewa, clearly demonstrates the comparative lack of linguistic borrowing in Rio Grande Tewa.

[13] This Arizona Tewa semantic constraint on the well-formedness of passives may seem qualitatively different from the ranking of nouns (Creamer 1974) which occurs in Navajo. Yet the existence of more elaborate, hierarchical ranking constraints in both Rio Grande Tewa and Jemez confirms the fact that they are truly analogous systems and not merely sperficially similar--a possible, though misguided, interpretation of the more vestigial manifestation of the constraint which currently operates in Arizona Tewa.

[14] This statement is the result of preliminary efforts to ascertain the existence of such loans. A definitive statement on the status of lexical borrowing between these two languages must await the compilation of an Arizona Tewa dictionary.

[15] For a more elaborate statement of this position see Sherzer and Bauman 1972.

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ON DELETION RULES AND TRANSFERENCE

Nicholas Sobin
Pan American University

0. Introduction. In the works of different investigators on linguistic interference and language influence, the conclusions vary widely. Weinreich (1967) suggests a wide range of possible syntactic interference into one language by another. Dulay and Burt (1974) suggest the opposite. In discussing forms produced by people learning and speaking English as a second language they note forms which are interference-like right alongside forms which are developmental, that is, similar to what a person learning the language as a first language would produce. They hypothesize that second language (L2) acquisition is identical to first language (L1) acquisition in that it, "...does not include transfer from (either positive or negative) or comparison with [the learner's] native language, but relies on his dealing with L2 syntax as a system." (1974, 115)

In this paper I will summarize some results from a broad survey of linguistic intuitions and language background which is still in progress at Pan American University. The general question we will be considering here is whether or not the English produced by Spanish-English bilingual students shows evidence of influence or interference from Spanish in the area of syntax. More particularly, we will consider bilingual speakers' acceptance or rejection of various reduced sentences in English and to what degree these judgments indicate the influence of Spanish syntax. The answers to these questions are of interest for a number of reasons. First, they should tell us more about the linguistic character of bilingual speech and second language acquisition. Second, we hope to learn more about certain possible mechanisms of language change. To what degree is it possible for the syntax of one language to influence the development of another language? Data from bilingual speakers is crucial to answering this question. Third, such data also demands explanation by any adequate theory of natural language and should be helpful in elucidating linguistic structure.

The data to be discussed below suggest that if one language does influence the development or production of another, that influence is more subtle than the simple transference of rules from one language to the other.

1.1 Informants and Materials. The informants used in this study were students in seven randomly selected freshman English classes at Pan American University.[1] Around 75% of the students at Pan American are Spanish-English bilingual (Amastae, 1978) and although English is the language of most instruction at the university, Spanish is spoken by a majority in the community. Of 117 informants responding to both elicitation devices (to be discussed below), 103 (88%) claimed to speak Spanish, 82 (70%) claim to have spoken Spanish alone as a first language and another 12 (10%) claim to have spoken both Spanish and English as first languages.

The informants were asked to respond to two questionnaires during two different class periods. One was a sociological background questionnaire (SBQ) based on one developed at the University of Texas, El Paso. This device elicited a range of information on language background and current language use as well as other general background information.

The second questionnaire which these students filled out was a syntax questionnaire (SQE) which consisted of a number of subparts, each asking the student to produce or judge some phrase or sentence type. Among the tasks were the selection of prepositions and particles, the production of questions, negatives, reflexives, embedded constructions, and judging the acceptability of reduced clauses.[2] After the questionnaire was distributed in each class the students were instructed (both orally and on the questionnaire) that this was not a test with right or wrong answers and that they should give the responses which seemed the most natural to them. Each subpart of the questionnaire had its own instructions. Here, we shall be concerned with the section on reduced sentences.

1.2 Reduced sentences. As just stated, one section of SQE asked students to judge the acceptability of reduced sentences. Here, two types of reduction were focused on: verb phrase deletion (VP del) and gapping. Roughly, VP del is a process whereby a verb and any accompanying objects (that is, a whole VP) are removed from a second conjunct if they are identical to corresponding items in the first conjunct. (1) is a case where the second clause has been reduced by VP del:[3]

(1) Max was kicking the ball and Jill was too.

Gapping is very roughly reduction of identical elements including the main verb from a second conjunct which leaves material from both before and after the verb. The reduced right conjunct of (2) is a case of gapping:

(2) Max ordered coffee and Jill tea.

There were a number of reasons for choosing deletion phenomena for study. First, the acquisition of deletion rules is not widely studied. Second, hypotheses on transference or non-transference of rules from one language to another have been predicated largely on the data of movement rules such as Subject Auxiliary Inversion or Negative placement. Much less has been said about deletion with respect to transference. Third, deletion rules are probably freer from instruction and pedagogy than movement rules. While it is relatively easy to find pedagogical treatments of questions or negatives, it is rare to find anything but occasional mention of reduced sentence forms. The speaker is left more to his own devices regarding the formation of deletion rules.

VP del and gapping are of particular interest because they have analogs in Spanish which behave somewhat differently from the English rules. In the case of VP del, Spanish is similar to English in allowing the deletion of VP which leaves *estar* clause finally, but different in not allowing *haber* clause finally. Thus, (3) is acceptable but not (4):

(3) Juan está estudiando el mapa y Jill está tambien.

(4) *Beto ha salido y Fran ha también.

By contrast, the English counterparts to both sentences are acceptable:

(5) Juan is studying the map and Jill is too.

(6) Beto has left and Fran has too.

In the case of gapping, Spanish allows certain gaps which English does not. In English it is possible to apply gapping to reduce (7a) to (7b), but gapping will not reduce (8a) to (8b):

(7) a. Carlos left at 6 and Irma left at 7.
    b. Carlos left at 6 and Irma at 7.

(8) a. Jack gave Jill a watch and Maria gave Jill a comb.
    b. *Jack gave Jill a watch and Maria a comb.[4]

By contrast, it is possible in Spanish to derive (9b) from (9a):

(9) a. Jack le dio a Jill un reloj y Maria le dio a Jill un peine.
    b. Jack le dio a Jill un reloj y Maria un peine.

Given these differences, possible transference into English of the Spanish deletion rules by bilingual speakers would be signaled by the rejection of sentences like (6), or the acceptance of sentences like (8b) as a possible alternative form of (8a).

In this section of SQE, students were given various sentences along with reduced forms of those sentences (see figure 1) and were asked to judge the reduced forms according to the following instructions:

> Here are some full sentences followed by shortened forms of the same sentences. If any one of the shorter forms can't mean the same thing as the full sentence or sounds unnatural, put an X in the blank in front of it. Put a ✓ in front of the shortened forms that seem natural and mean the same thing as the full sentence. Don't leave any blanks.
>
> Example: Jack has been mopping the floor and Jill has been mopping the floor too.
> ✓ (a) Jack has been mopping the floor and Jill has been too.
> ✓ (b) Jack has been mopping the floor and Jill has too.
> X (c) Jack has been mopping the floor and Jill.

Following this were 28 reduced forms of 13 different sentences which the informants were asked to judge as acceptable or unacceptable reductions of the given fuller forms. Figure 1 contains selected items which we will consider in more detail.

2. Treatment of the Data. As noted earlier, Spanish is used extensively among the subjects of this study. In order to study the

Juan is studying the map and Jill is studying the map too.

__(29) Juan is studying the map and Jill is too.

__(30) Juan is studying the map and Jill too.

Jack ordered beans and Maria ordered peas.

__(31) Jack ordered beans and Maria, peas.

Beto has left and Fran has left too.

__(37) Beto has left and Fran has too.

__(38) Beto has left and Fran too.

Carlos left at 6:00 and Irma left at 7:00.

__(39) Carlos left at 6:00 and Irma, at 7:00.

Jack gave Jill a watch and Maria gave Jill a comb.

__(40) Jack gave Jill a watch and Maria, a comb.

Jack was picking oranges and Jill was picking oranges too.

__(41) Jack was picking oranges and Jill was too.

Jack wanted Mike to pass and Jill wanted Mike to fail.

__(44) Jack wanted Mike to pass and Jill, to fail.

Jack had washed the car and Jill had washed the car too.

__(46) Jack had washed the car and Jill had too.

Jack will write Maria a letter and Jill will write Maria a postcard.

__(48) Jack will write Maria a letter and Jill, a postcard.

Harry had been running and Mary had been running too.

__(49) Harry had been running and Mary had been too.

__(50) Harry had been running and Mary had too.

Figure 1

possible effects of Spanish syntax on the production of English, the informants' responses were divided into subgroups according to responses to two of the SBQ questions (see above). The first question was language spoken first where the possible responses were Spanish, Spanish and English (both), or English. Though language spoken first is an indication of language background, it may not be indicative of current language use by informants. Therefore the second question selected was language spoken to close friends on the PAU campus. The possible responses were only Spanish, mostly Spanish, 50/50, mostly English, only English. The results of cross tabulating the judgments on VP del (items 29, 41, 49, 37, 46 and 50) with first language spoken are given in figure 3. The cross tabulation of these same items with language spoken to close friends at PAU is given in figure 4. Figures 5 and 6 show the results of cross tabulating gapped sentences (items 31, 39, 40, 44 and 48) with first language spoken, and with language spoken to close friends at PAU respectively. The main body of each figure shows the percentage of informants in each category which judged each item acceptable. So, for example, in figure 3, 97.6% of the people who claim to have spoken Spanish first judged item (29) as acceptable, etc.

Because of limited access to the informants, and the large number of them, the informants' own usage of the corresponding reduced sentence forms in Spanish could not be checked directly.[5] Instead, local agreement with the standard grammaticality judgments (given in figure 2)[6] was verified by asking about 30 bilingual students, staff, and faculty. The consensus of these speakers is given in the left-most column of figures 3-6. Thus, the results to be discussed concerning transference are highly suggestive though not absolutely conclusive. Local intuitions do appear consistent with standard judgments.

3. Results and Discussion. The results show little or no evidence of transference. First consider judgments on VP del given in figures 3 and 4. The first 3 items where *be* is left (29, 41 and 49) were judged acceptable in Spanish and evidently were highly acceptable in English among all groups.[7] The last 3 items, where *have* is left clause finally, do not follow the rejection patterns given for the corresponding Spanish items. Item (37), though one of the most highly rejected sentences in Spanish, was by and large the most highly accepted of the *have* final sentences in English among all groups. Item (46) in figure 3 shows equal acceptance by the Spanish-first and the English-first groups. The *both* group shows higher rather than lower acceptance here. Item (46) in figure 4 shows a pattern which is the reverse of what you would expect if Spanish intuitions were being transferred. Assuming .05 or less to indicate significance, a x^2 test does not show this pattern to be significant ($.100 < p < .250$). Item (50) in figure 3 shows some difference in acceptability in the direction predicted by transference, however, a x^2 test here also does not show the pattern to be significant ($.100 < p < .250$). In figure 4 a x^2 test for item (50) does show the pattern to be significant ($.01 < p < .025$). The pattern here is in the direction predicted by transference. In light of the preceding results, however, it seems

(29') Juan está estudiando el mapa y Jill está ✓(estudiando el mapa) también.

(30') ...y Jill ✓(está estudiando el mapa) también.

(31') Jack ordenó frijoles y Maria ✓(ordenó) chícharos.

(37') Beto ha salido y Fran ha *(salido) también.

(38') ...y Fran ✓(ha salido) también.

(39') Carlos salió a las seis y Irma ✓(salió) a las siete.

(40') Jack le dio a Jill un reloj y Maria ✓(le dio a Jill) un peine.

(41') Jack estaba pizcando naranjas y Jill estaba ✓(pizcando naranjas) también.

(44') Jack quería que Mike pasara y Jill ✓(quería) que (Mike) fracasara.

(46') Jack había lavado el carro y Jill había *(lavado el carro) también.

(48') Jack le va a escribir a Maria una carta y Jill ✓(le va a escribir a Maria) una tarjeta.

(49') Harry había estado corriendo y Maria había estado ✓(corriendo) también.

(50') ...y Maria había *(estado corriendo) también.

Figure 2

local Spanish intuition	item	Spanish	both	English	
ok	29	97.6	100.0	95.7	BE
ok	41	97.6	100.0	95.7	
ok	49	95.1	100.0	91.3	
*	37	93.9	91.7	91.3	HAVE
?*	46	82.9	91.7	82.6	
?*	50	74.4	75.0	86.96	
Total in each cat:		82	12	23	117

Figure 3

Percent of acceptance of VP del sentences according to language spoken first (with no-responses removed).

local Spanish intuition	item	mS	50/50	mE	oE	
ok	29	90.9	100.0	97.7	96.3	BE
ok	41	100.0	97.1	95.5	100.0	
ok	49	100.0	91.2	95.5	96.3	
*	37	100.0	85.3	95.5	96.3	HAVE
?*	46	100.0	90.6	84.1	74.1	
?*	50	54.5	64.7	81.8	92.6	
Total in each cat:		11	34	44	27	116

Figure 4

Percent of acceptance of VP del sentences according to language spoken to close friends at PAU (with no-responses removed).

local Spanish intuition	item	Spanish	both	English	
✓	31	48.8	66.7	43.5	
✓	39	63.4	75.0	76.9	
ok	40	15.9	33.0	27.8	
ok	44	12.2	16.7	8.7	
ok	48	24.2	58.3	8.7	
Total in each cat:		82	12	23	117

Figure 5

Percent of acceptance of gapped sentences according to language spoken first (with no-responses removed).

local Spanish intuition	item	mS	50/50	mE	oE	
✓	31	36.4	48.5	47.7	51.9	
✓	39	54.5	58.8	70.5	59.3	
ok	40	18.2	20.6	18.6	22.2	
ok	44	0.0	8.8	20.5	7.4	
ok	48	27.3	27.3	31.8	11.1	
Total in each cat:		11	34	44	27	116

Figure 6

Percent of acceptance of gapped sentences according to language spoken to close friends at PAU (with no-responses removed).

difficult to claim the simple and sudden transference of VP del from Spanish. A more relevant factor here may be the increased complexity of the auxiliary structure and its relative rarity in everyday speech, possibly a developmental difference.

Similar results were obtained for the gapped sentences. Although the gapped Spanish sentences (31') and (39') in figure 2 were agreed upon as the best way to say these sentences, even better than the full forms, informants in all categories showed reservations about the gapped English sentences (31) and (39) shown in figures 5 and 6. x^2 tests failed to show any significant differences in the levels at which gapping in (31) and (39) were accepted by different groups in either figure 5 or 6. It is also worth noting here that gapping in (31) and (39) was judged much less acceptable than VP del after be (items (29), (41) and (49) in figures 3 and 4) although intuitions in Spanish were the reverse: deletion after estar in (29'), (41') and (49') was acceptable though not preferred while gapping in (31') and (39') was described as the best form of these sentences. Once again, transference is not indicated.

Regarding items (40) and (44) which are acceptable gaps in Spanish but not in English, x^2 tests did not show any significance to the differences in the acceptance of these items either by language spoken first (figure 5) or by language to close friends (figure 6). For (40) in figure 5, the Spanish-first group was the least acceptant of this item, again the reverse of what transference would predict.

Item (48) in figure 6 also does not vary significantly in its acceptance according to language use to close friends. A x^2 test does, however, show a significance to the differences in judgments about (50) in figure 5 according to language spoken first ($.005<p<.010$). The judgments here of the both group differ significantly from those of the Spanish-first group ($.010<p<.025$) and from those of the English-first group ($.001<p<.005$). However a x^2 test of the Spanish-first and the English-first groups shows no significant difference between their judgments ($.05<p<.10$). If it is the influence of Spanish on English which we are seeing here, then it is the both group, those who claim to have learned both Spanish and English simultaneously, which is most susceptible. Informants who learned Spanish first do not show a significant effect of transference from Spanish.

4. Conclusions. To summarize briefly, neither the data of VP del nor the data of gapping show consistent evidence of transference of Spanish grammatical intuitions into English. The evidence from deletion argues against the simple transference of transformational rules from Spanish into English. The rates of acceptance of particular reduced sentences did not seem to vary significantly among groups of different language background and use except in two cases. In the case of item (50) in figure 4, this result could as easily be due to a more complicated auxiliary structure. In the case of item (48) in figure 5, it is the both group which shows significant variation towards Spanish. If this is influence from Spanish, it appears not to be transference in the usual sense of transferring intuitions from an already known first language to a second language being learned,

but possibly an influence obtained in learning both languages simultaneously. It may be that syntactic influence is possible only in simultaneous acquisition. Such an explanation, however, leaves us with the question of why the *both* group was more acceptant of (46), an unacceptable VP del in Spanish. Rather than transference, the *both* group may simply be more tolerant in its acceptability judgments. This possibility requires further investigation.

FOOTNOTES

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[1] See Amastae (1978) for further description of the sample.

[2] For other results from this questionnaire and earlier pilot studies, see (Sobin, 1977; 1978).

[3] For the sake of exposition, I will assume that it is deletion that we are dealing with here. Hudson (1976) makes an interesting counterproposal that many examples of deletion are, in fact, the product of movement rules.

[4] (8b) is, of course, derivable from a construction with *Jack gave Maria a comb* as a right conjunct.

[5] Not only were there too many subjects to interview individually about the range of items on the questionnaire, but the students indicated on SBQ a lack of reading ability in Spanish. This, plus constraints on the use of class time, prohibited a parallel questionnaire in Spanish on the same scale.

[6] Following Hankamer (1973), a ✓ indicates that the following enclosed material may be acceptably removed and a * indicates that it may not.

[7] In figures 3-6, ✓ means the best way to say the sentence, *ok* means the utterance is grammatical but there is a better way to say the sentence, ?* means highly questionable, and * means absolutely unacceptable.

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X

DESCRIPTION OF SPANISH

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COTTON, ELEANOR GREET and SHARP, JOHN M. (The University of Texas at El Paso) NEOLOGISTIC PALATAL + -AR VERBS IN MEXICAN-AMERICAN SPANISH: In this paper are presented the results of a study of neologistic palatal +ar verbs in the Spanish spoken by Mexican-American residents of the Southwestern United States. Of the 368 verbs comprising the representative sample examined, 60% were based on Spanish roots and 40% on English. Among those with Spanish bases, 68.3% were found to be noun-based, while, in contrast, only 13.6% of the English-based verbs were derived from nouns. As to the etymology of these verbs, those with Spanish bases were derived from a variety of sources, whereas those with English bases were found to be mostly Germanic. Their areas of semantic application indicate that where the Mexican-American experienced novel elements in the culture of the United States, he borrowed the appropriate English-based verb forms for their designation, and conversely, in areas in which he maintained or adapted his Hispanic culture, he retained and altered nouns and verbs from his dominant original culture.

FLOYD, MARY BETH (Northern Illinois University) VERB USAGE IN SOUTHWEST SPANISH: IMPLICATIONS FOR LANGUAGE CHANGE: One feature of Southwest varieties of Spanish which has often been observed is the relative disuse of the inflected or morphological future verb form and the rarity of the conditional verb form. The preference for one of two alternate modes of expression of futurity in main clauses, i.e., either the present tense form or the ir a plus infinitive periphastic construction, has been generally observed in Southwest varieties of Spanish. Data from Colorado informants provide examples for the same patterns with a preference for the ir a construction. Such preferences are considered in relation to possible English syntactic influence and factors related to language development and formal education or literacy. The function of the future form to express probability or conjecture is also considered. In the context of hypothetical or contrary-to-fact sentences, the use of imperfect indicative or imperfect subjunctive has been generally observed to supplant the conditional form. In contexts of futurity with respect to past time, Colorado informants tended to use the imperfect of the ir a plus infinitive construction or the imperfect indicative verb form. These patterns were somewhat less established among the Colorado informants in general than were the expressions of futurity from the point of view of present time. Such patterned expression is considered in relation to internal factors such as the existence of alternative modes of expression within the structure of modern Spanish. The preponderance of such patterns of usage among monolingual speakers of American Spanish in a larger sense would tend to argue against the external factor of syntactic influence of English. It is suggested, however, that external factors such as the absence of a "prestige" standard, the relative absence of conservative influences generally imposed by such a standard, and the largely oral transmission of the language for many speakers may perhaps be the most important factors enhancing or facilitating this area of language change for modern Spanish.

GUTIERREZ, JOHN R. (University of New Mexico) LANGUAGE USE IN MARTINEZTOWN: The study explores and reports on the functions of English and Spanish in Martineztown, a predominantly Chicano section of Albuquerque, New Mexico. The uses of the two languages are analyzed in relation to the domains of employment, school, home, and recreation and correlated with such sociolinguistic variables as age, amount of education, sex, and religion. The primary findings show English to be the dominant language used in the domains of school and employment, and it is slowly replacing Spanish in the recreation domain. Spanish is still the language used primarily in the home, however it is being used to a lesser degree in this domain by the members of this speech community under the age of thirty, implying that an overt language shift is in process.

MERZ, GERI W. (University of Houston) SOME ENGLISH SOUNDS IN TUCSON SPANISH: This paper studies the occurrences of /v/, /š/, and English /r/ in the spoken Spanish of 9 Mexican-American Tucsonans. The use of /v/, the dominant allophone of /b/, is favored by intervocalic position, orthographic v, and English dominance. Although /š/ is not the main allophone of 7ĉ/, it is used by 8 of the informants. English /r/ occurs rarely, and only in the syllable per.

NEOLOGISTIC PALATAL + *-AR* VERBS IN MEXICAN-AMERICAN SPANISH

Eleanor Greet Cotton and John M. Sharp
University of Texas at El Paso

It has long been noted that there is a difference between Mexican Spanish and Mexican-American Spanish in that the latter is characterized by a great many neologisms, with both English and Spanish roots. The reason for this, it has commonly been assumed, is that Mexicans emigrating to the United States have found themselves within a culture quite different from their own and for which, therefore, their original vocabulary was inadequate (Sharp, 1970). Faced with this problem, they solved it as speakers often do when they suddenly find themselves immersed in a new environment: they have either 1) accepted the new artifacts and other cultural innovations with their Anglo-American names or 2) adapted lexical items from Mexican Spanish, altering them in various ways.

These two processes of lexical expansion are, of course, historically commonplace in Spanish. For example, when the Spaniards arrived in the New World, they at once began to absorb Indian words into their vocabulary to designate New World flora, fauna, and cultural elements that were new to them, adopting such words as *maguey*, *iguana*, *coyote*, and *cacique*. There also occurred numerous adaptations of Peninsular Spanish words to New World conditions. As an illustration, the case of *álamo* can be cited. In Spain, *álamo* means "poplar tree," whereas in Mexico it means "cottonwood." Apparently the Spaniards thought the two trees sufficiently similar for the name transfer to occur. Another assumption gave rise to the word *tobacco*. Columbus, during his first voyage, observed an Indian on the beach of Cuba, smoking a cigar. Since Columbus was familiar with the Arabic custom of inhaling smoke from the ignited leaves of a plant called *tabbak* to cure a respiratory ailment, he misapplied the Arabic word to the American plant (Moliner, 1971). Another attempted importation was *gallina*, the name originally applied by the Spaniards to the New World turkey. However, after the Spaniards brought in real *gallinas* from Spain, the term *gallina* was displaced by the Indian *guajolote*, *cócono*, and a host of others. There are in fact, twenty-seven Indian terms for turkey being used in Mexican-Spanish at the present time (Leal, 1960).

The number of neologisms in Mexican-American Spanish precludes the examination of all of them in a short paper; and no exhaustive list is indeed possible since the process is dynamic and continues even now. Accordingly, the present authors narrowed their focus to newly coined verbs, those verbs in which palatalization occurs before terminal *-ar* in the infinitive. Verbs of this phonological pattern occur frequently in Hispanic countries in popular speech. As has been noted, these verbs in Mexican-American Spanish may be either Spanish-based or English-based. Some neologistic verbs with English bases include *monquear* (from *monkey*), *jainear* (from *honey*), *parquear* (from *park*), and *tichar* (from *teach*); and with Spanish bases, *chistear* (from *chiste*), *moquear* (from *moco*), *jacalear* (from *jacal*) and *sanchar* (from *Sancho*). Verbs of this sort are created by the application of several rules.

Rule (1): If the base ends in *-i* or *-e* add *-ar*: *monqui* > *monquiar*; *chiste* > *chistear*.

Rule (2): Where the final vowel of the stem of these verbs is *-e* it becomes *-i* (/y/) when it is unstressed, and palatalization results: *chistear* > *chistiar*.

Rule (3): If the base ends in a vowel other than -*i* or -*e*, delete this vowel and insert -*i* or -*e* and apply rules (1) and/or (2): *jaina* > *jaine* + -*ar* > *jaini* + -*ar* > *jainiar*; and *moco* > *moque* + -*ar* > *moqui* + -*ar* > *moquiar*.

Rule (4): Where the base ends in a non-palatal consonant, add -*i* or -*e* and apply rules (1) and/or (2): *parqu* + -*e* + -*ar* > *parqu* + -*i* + -*ar* > *parquiar*; and *jacal* + -*e* + -*ar* > *jacal* + -*i* + -*ar* > *jacaliar*.

Rule (5): Where the base ends in a palatal consonant, *ch* (/č/), *ñ*, *y*, or *ll* (/y/), add -*ar*. Rules (1) and (2) do not apply, and a final -*i* (/y/) is not inserted since Spanish phonology constrains the use of a palatal immediately following another palatal. Applied to English bases, Rule (5) can be exemplified by: *tich* + -*ar* > tichar.* Applied to Spanish bases, rule (5) has a preliminary requirement: with a base containing a palatal followed by a vowel, delete the vowel and then add -*ar*: *Sancho* > *sanch* + -*ar* > *sanchar*.†

These rules appear to be very old, as old as the Spanish language itself, dating back as they do to Vulgar Latin, according to Menéndez Pidal (1941). While -*ear* and -*iar* verb classes were kept distinct in *la lengua culta*, they tended in common speech to coalesce into a single class or to vary freely. Pidal cites as examples words such as *colorear* from *color* + -*i(z)* + -*ar(e)* and *camear* from *cambiar*. The form *camear* is an early one, used consistently throughout *El Cantar de Mío Cid*. That the process has continued to be a dynamic one is attested by modern Standard Spanish verbs such as *zapatear* (base: *zapato*) and *telefonear* (base: *teléfono*) (Pidal, 1974:328). José Santamaría attributes many of these verbs to semantic or phonologic variation in popular Mexican-Spanish, labeling them as *corriente*, *vulgar*, or *lengua soez y baja*. (1978).

What of these verbs in Mexican-American Spanish? Do their semantics cast any light on the Mexican-Americans' acculturation to a society dominated by Anglo-Americans? Specifically, in what area of social interaction has the Mexican-American felt a need for new verbs of this type? Conversely, in what areas have Spanish-based verbs been preferred?

In an attempt to answer these questions, data were gathered from Galván's and Teschner's *El Diccionario del español de Tejas*, González's "Pachuco: the Birth of a Creole Language," Paulline Baker's *Español para los hispanos*, and from available Mexican-American informants in the El Paso area. The resultant sample consists of 368 verb plus meaning pairs, this is to say, a lexical item with a definition. Where one lexical item

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*The verb *tichiar* does exist but the *i* is not palatal (/y/) but a vowel (/i/).

†It should be borne in mind that any -*ar* verb in Spanish may be made frequentative by the insertion of *e* between the stem and -*ar*, provided the meaning permits, for example *trotar*, "to trot," *trotear*, "to keep trotting." Some of the verbs in this sample probably result from this process. It would be extremely difficult to identify most of these frequentatives and such an attempt has not been made.

has two widely divergent meanings, it is counted twice in view of the importance of semantic shift as a basis for the creation of neologisms. For example, machetear is counted twice because it means both "to eat voraciously" and "to botch a job."

Subsequent analysis not only brought confirmation of previous assumptions but also resulted in findings that were surprising. For example, contrary to our expectations, more of the verbs in this sample are derived from Spanish than from English: 221 verbs or 60% of these entries are Spanish-based while only 147 or 40% contain English bases. Among those with Spanish bases, 151 or 68.3% are based on nouns, whereas those based on verbs number only 46, or 20.8%, and, of the latter, 84.8% are semantic or phonological variants of Standard Spanish forms. Adjective bases are found in only 6 verbs, 2.7%. Only one verb is either noun or verb-based, and one is based on a verb phrase. Among those with English bases, however, 127 or 86.4% are verb-based while only 20 or 13.6% are based on nouns; 17.7% are ambiguous: two counted as noun-based and 24 counted as verb-based might actually be considered as either noun or verb-based, i.e., verbs like comb, step, and work. However, it seems more likely that they were borrowed as originally labeled. Moreover, if the percentage of ambiguous verbs is subtracted from the total that seem definitely to be verb-based, the remaining percentage of verb-based verbs is still quite large, 68.7%

It is evident from these figures that the percentages of noun-based verbs and verb-based verbs are almost exactly the opposite in the case of coinages of Hispanic versus English origin. What explanation for this difference can be suggested? One may surmise that a Spanish-dominant speaker might be inclined to create new verbs based on nouns already known to him and merely to copy verbs to which he is exposed in the Anglo culture. Surely it would be easier for one to be creative in his own language and also easier simply to imitate forms of a second language.

Another difference among these verbs is that those with Spanish bases come from sources that are linguistically more varied than those with English bases, which are largely Germanic. The Spanish bases are derived from Medieval Spanish, Standard Spanish (modified semantically and/or phonologically), Standard Spanish slang, rogue slang, Nahuatl, and Pachuco; some are calques, as can be seen in Table 1.

Perhaps the most interesting difference between the Spanish-based and English-based verbs is the contrast between their respective areas of semantic application, as shown in Table 2. These figures show that of the verbs in the category I, "Behavior" the number with Spanish bases is three times greater than that of verbs with English bases. In the category II, "Sports and play," and III, "Work," English-based verbs predominate, 2 to 1. Terms in categories IV, "Weather," and V, "Medical," are all Spanish-based, and category VI, "General and/or unclassifiable," is split 50-50.

Of the 221 Spanish-based verbs in the sample, how many fall within each of these six semantic areas? How does their semantic distribution compare with that of the 147 English-based verbs? (See Table 3.) The figures in Table 3 indicate that approximately 3/4 of the verbs with Spanish bases concern behavior while slightly less than 1/3 of the English-based verbs have to do with this area. Terms for sports and play in the Spanish sample account for only 7% but there are three times

Table 1. Some Origins and Examples of Spanish-Based Neologistic Palatal -ar Verbs

Origins	Examples
Archaisms	*camear*
Semantic and phonetic variants of Standard Spanish	*linear*
Semantic variants of Standard Spanish	*brujear*
Phonetic variants of Standard Spanish	*lambuzquear/* *lambizquear*
Standard Spanish slang	*caldear*
Rogue slang	*muraguear*
Nahuatlismos	*apapachar*
Pachuco slang	*entacucharse*
Calques	*lamparear*

Table 2. Comparative Percentage of the Total (368) in each Semantic Category, Spanish/English

Semantic Category	Spanish Bases	English Bases
I Behavior	77.4%	22.6%
II Sports and play	33.3%	66.6%
III Work	34.3%	65.6%
IV Weather	100%	0%
V Medical	100%	0%
VI General and/or unclassifiable	50%	50%

Table 3. Percentage that each Major Category Represents of the Totals for Spanish Bases and for English Bases, Respectively

Semantic Category	Spanish Bases: % of Total	English Bases: % of Total
I Behavior	72.8%	31.9%
II Sports and play	7.2%	21.7%
III Work	15.4%	44.2%
IV Weather	1.3%	0%
V Medical	1.8%	0%
VI General and/or unclassifiable	1.3%	2%

that many among the English-based verbs in this category. In the case of the third category, "Work," there is a large disproportion between the Spanish-based verbs and the English-based verbs in that only 15% of the Spanish total fall into this category while 44% of the English total refer to work. A very small percentage of the Spanish total can be found in categories IV, "Weather," and V, "Medical," and there are no English-based verbs at all in these categories. Category VI, "General and/or unclassifiable," is very small, representing less than 2% for bases from both languages.

The general category I, concerning behavior, is divided into the subcategories of (A) personal behavior, domestic setting; (B) personal behavior, general; (C) interpersonal behavior, general; (D) interpersonal behavior, social formulas; and (E) socially disapproved behavior, ranging from idle gossip to crimes of violence. There are 161 verbs with Spanish bases in this category. In subcategory (A), personal behavior, domestic setting, there are 10 terms for (1) eating and drinking; three of these are synomyms of comer, "eat"; six more refer to manner or means of eating; the one remaining refers to drinking. In this same category there are 10 terms for (2) grooming and dressing, all or most of which refer to the activities of women. Half of them refer to grooming and half to dressing, among which four out of five mean to "dress up," demonstrating the traditional Spanish interest in dressing for festive occasions. The English-based terms in the category are fewer (only half as many) and less specific. Only two of the seven grooming and dressing terms apply to women. It would seem that behavior in this area is more traditionally oriented than adopted from Anglo-American culture except when it involves technological artifacts, as in permanentear and tatu(y)ar, that would not have been common in rural Mexico.

In subcategory I B, "personal behavior, general," there are 36 Spanish-based terms, for the most part dealing with physical activities. Many of these concern self-expression, such as cacaraquear, "guffaw" and jirimiquear, "complain" or "whine"; four have to do with locomotion, three describe laziness, two mean "excel," two mean "go crazy," and the others refer to a variety of activities. The English-based verbs in this category number only seven but they refer to some of the same activities referred to by the Spanish-based verbs here, such as manners of locomotion in *stepear* ("step"), *shoflear* ("shuffle"), and laziness, in *bonquear*, "sleep." As in the case of "personal behavior in a domestic setting," these more general terms are for the most part adapted and not acquired.

As can be expected, there are many Spanish-based verbs (37) in subcategory I C,"interpersonal behavior, general." More than 1/4 of them refer to activities between the sexes; two of these are romantic and seven are more carnal, ranging from *cachumbear*, "neck," to *chopetear*, "have intercourse." It is not surprising, therefore, that there are also a number of terms concerning child-raising. Among the other terms in this category, three refer to positive, 13 to negative, and three to neutral interrelationships. A positive interrelationship may be exemplified by *ahuichotear*, "encourage or stimulate"; a negative one by *azorrillar*, "frighten"; and a neutral one by *cotorrear*, "converse."

The English-based verbs in "interpersonal behavior, general," although fewer in number (12) than their Spanish-based counterparts (37), comprise almost the same percentage (25%) of the total for this category. Moreover, these verbs have semantic referents very similar to those of the Spanish-based verbs and also occur in similar proportions: three refer to sex, three may refer to children (although not to child-raising as is the case with the Spanish-based verbs). Also like those with Spanish bases, the greater number of remaining items with English bases refer to negative interpersonal relationships (five), and, as with the Spanish bases, there are the same number which have reference to positive and to neutral relationships (two and two). Still, it is to be noted that the comparatively large proportion of English-based verbs in this semantic area suggests that the interpersonal relationships of the Mexican-American have been modified by his living in a bicultural setting.

The largest category of verbs, both Spanish-based and English-based, is that of "socially disapproved behavior." These lexical items account for 40.9% of the Spanish-based total and include items that are general (E 1)(46 verbs) and terms that refer specifically to criminal activities (E 2)(23 verbs). Subcategories within the "general" contain derogatory verbs referring to sex (13), betrayal (7), unacceptable types of conversation (5), fighting (3), being lazy (3), driving someone crazy (3), going on a spree (2), being flatulent (2), and designating miscellaneous types of antisocial conduct (8).

With English bases concerning socially disapproved behavior, general and criminal, there are lexical items which account for 29.7% of the English-based total. Within the category "general" there are only eight terms; of these, two refer to sexual actitivies, two to fighting and the four remaining refer to various kinds of undesirable social behavior.

There are 23 verbs with Spanish bases that refer to criminal behavior, and these can be divided on the basis of semantic reference into five subcategories: (a) general crime, (b) larceny, (c) crimes involving narcotics, (d) crimes in which a knife is used, and (e) crimes in which other weapons are used. In general crime, three of these terms involve interrelationships between the criminal and the police, and three are miscellaneous. Referring to larceny, there are four terms, all of which mean "steal." In crime involving narcotics, there is only one term, *pildorear*, "ingest narcotics". In the category of crime in which a knife is used, there are at least seven verbs with Spanish bases, and possibly eight, if one includes pacotear ("to stab in the back"). Terms for crimes in which other weapons are used include two for firearms and one for a blackjack or other heavy weapon; plomear ("fill with lead") may be derived from cowboy language.

Among the nine terms with English bases that refer to criminal behavior, there are four in the "crime, general" subcategory, two of which describe activities between the criminal and the police and two of which describe activities of the criminal alone. Referring to larcenous activities there are two items, both of which mean "steal." In crime involving narcotics there are two items. There are no English-based terms referring to cutting or stabbing and only one referring to crime with a gun. This disparity between the Spanish-based and the English-based verbs suggests that in traditional Hispanic culture there has been more prestige attached to the use of a blade to settle differences than there has in the English-speaking world. Further, many of the English-based verbs in this subcategory refer to types of illegal activities to which the Mexican-American might have been exposed in a United States urban environment: terms such as estulear ("stool"), freimear ("frame"), joslear ("hustle"), requetear ("steal", with a suggestion of gang activity), and rolear ("roll someone").

In the next large category, II, "Sports and play," there are twice as many verbs of English derivation (32) as there are with Spanish roots (16). Considering that the English sample (147) is only 3/4 the size of the Spanish sample (221), this category would seem to be English-dominated. The largest subcategory among the English-based verbs in this semantic area contains verbs naming activities typical of team sports. Of these, the greatest number, six, pertain to baseball, three to football-soccer, three to basketball, one to any team sport, and one (golfear) to an activity which might be played by a group of people or might be played alone. The preponderance of English bases here possibly reflects the fact that team sports have only recently achieved popularity in Latin-America, with the exception of soccer. These sports with their accompanying terminology have been acquired by Hispanic countries--not only Mexico but Venezuela, Santo Domingo, and others--from English-speaking countries. The verbs in this semantic area which have Spanish bases are capotear ("snatch ball or leave team scoreless") and garrotear ("defeat"), not only limited in number but less specific than their English counterparts. Analogously, terms for boxing and wrestling are more numerous (6 to 1) and more specific if they are based on English words and less so if based on Spanish, as in the English-based fletear ("flatten") contrasted with the Spanish-based tironear ("pull at someone's limbs"). Again, these sports, probably introduced by English-speaking people, are extremely popular and widespread in Hispanic countries at the present time, and the terminology which accompanies them is commonplace. For instance, one frequently sees naquear (to "knock out") on the sports pages of newspapers in Mexico City.

The next subcategory of "Sports and play" contains terms for card playing and gambling. Here, too, English-based verbs are in a majority (4 to 1); two English-based terms refer to poker, one to dealing, and one to betting. The sole Spanish-based verb, barajear, means to "play cards" or to "shuffle" and is a phonological variant of the standard Spanish barajar.

Spanish-speaking people have been playing cards since the late Middle Ages, and the Spanish lexicon is replete with card-playing terms. Why, then, has the Mexican-American felt a need to borrow card-playing terms from English? The answer may be that the Mexican in rural areas did not play cards, and that immigrants to the United States acquired the custom and its terminology in this country.

In the subcategory containing lexical items concerning social amusements, II D, English-based verbs are again predominant (6 to 3). Here, too, the English-based verbs tend to be specific, referring to types of amusements such as *cabaretear*, "go nightclubbing," *campear*, "go camping for pleasure," and *swimear*, "go swimming" that would probably not have been indigenous for the Mexican-American.

There remain two subcategories in "Sports and play": general terms and terms for dancing. In the general subcategory there is the Spanish-based *fonchar*, "to cheat at marbles" and the English-based *jonchar* "to move a marble closer to its goal", *i.e.*, to cheat. One wonders if these may be related etymologically, since they are not only synonymous but also phonologically similar except for the point of articulation. Of this type also are the Spanish-based *trampear* and the English-based *trapear*, both of which mean to "hunt and trap animals" and may be derived from the same Latin etymon.

The subcategory of items referring to dancing, II D, is especially interesting because it contains six Spanish-based verbs and no English-based verbs at all, probably due to the fact that the love of dancing is an Hispanic cultural trait of long standing and also one which continues to be of primary importance in the social life of the Mexican-American teenager. The Spanish-based terms here are both general (3 verbs), and specific, as in *polquear* and *valsear*, both phonological variants of Standard Spanish, which name particular dances.

Highly revelatory of both traditional cultural values and activities acquired from Anglo-American society are new verbs in category III, "Work." There are only about half as many Spanish-based verbs as English-based verbs in this category, 34 as opposed to 65. Furthermore, the subcategories which contain the largest number of English-based verbs are often those which contain the smallest number of Spanish-based verbs. Subcategory III A, with terms referring to technological work, is the largest in verbs with English bases and relatively small in the verbs with Spanish bases, in a ratio of 15 to 7. Among the Spanish-based verbs in the "automotive" subcategory 1, three are adaptations (possibly from cowboy speech) of Standard Spanish terms for horsemanship. *Arrear*, which originally meant "say giddap to a horse," in Mexican-American Spanish means "start a car." *Manear*, originally to "hobble a horse," has the new meaning of "put on the brakes," and *talonear*, once "spur a horse," has the new meaning of "step on the gas, hurry." The terms *pilotear* ("drive a car") and *orillar* ("curb a car") may have come from boating. All the Spanish-based verbs concerning technological work refer to motor vehicles. This is not true of the English-based verbs in this subcategory. Although the English-based verbs which do concern automobiles are numerous (15) there also exist six terms for secretarial work from the English bases *check*, *dial*, *sign*, *tape*, *type*, and *staple*. There is one electrical term from English *plug* and one military term from English *machine gun*. A contrast may also be noted between the Spanish-based and English-based automotive terms. A majority of the former have to do with driving a car in general, whereas most of the English-based verbs here have reference to more specific automotive activities, such as starting a car, choking it, braking it, and to various activities one engages in when things go wrong, such as *ponchar* ("puncture a tire"), *bompear* ("bump into"), *requear* ("wreck"), *puchar* ("push"), *yequear* ("jack up"), and *güeldear* ("weld"). This is to say that the Spanish-based verbs are adapted from pre-technological practices while those with English bases reflect the Mexican-American's acculturation to the age of the machine. One may even suspect that many of the latter may have been coined by mechanics; one has only to visit a garage or wrecking yard to hear a plethora of such terms springing into being.

While the terms that involve automotive work suggest a male agent, the second subcategory of "Work," III B, domestic work, suggests activities customarily performed by women. The nine Spanish-based verbs in this area refer primarily to the preparation of food whereas the 13 English-based verbs have to do primarily with cleaning chores. One might assume that the Spanish-based verbs have been coined by bilingual speakers and that those with English bases may have originated with Anglo-American housewives giving instructions to their domestic help.

A third subcategory of "Work," III C, educational terms, appears not to be oriented toward the gender of the agent but to an age-group, since most of these terms would seem to have been created by youngsters. There is only one Spanish-based verb in this subcategory as opposed to 15 with English bases. These verbs reflect life in a typical Anglo-American school, referring as they do to such activities as *juquear* ("play hooky"), *espeletear* ("spell"), *impruvear* ("improve"), *testear* ("test"), and *tichar* ("teach").

The fourth subcategory of terms dealing with work, III D, "financial transactions," seems to be independent of notions of gender or age, although these terms concern actions most probably performed by adults. Among the four Spanish-based verbs, two mean "pay" and two mean "make change." Among the three English-based verbs, two concern credit. The four Spanish-based verbs are non-institutional in reference, while those with English bases involve the Mexican-American's dealings with institutions dominated by Anglo-Americans.

Anglo-American dominance in the economic sphere is again to be found reflected in the subcategories III E and III F. In III E, terms concerning labor relations, there are none with Spanish bases; of the four with English bases, two, *cuitear* ("quit") and *discharchar* ("discharge"), have to do with unemployment, either voluntary or involuntary; while the other two, *estraiquear* ("strike") and *piquetear* ("picket"), concern striking. In III F, the terms referring to manual labor, there are four verbs with Spanish bases and only one which is English-based; "shine" appears with a Spanish base in *bolear* and an English base in *shainear*. All of the activities designated here are menial.

In subcategory III, general terms having to do with work, there are only two English-based verbs and nine with Spanish bases. Those with English bases are extremely general: *pulear* ("pull") and *güerquear* ("work"). Those with Spanish bases are more interesting. *Camear* and *chambear* mean simply "work," but three refer to doing work incompetently: *cachuquear*, *chambonear*, and *machetear*. One means to "contract for work," *reganchar*, and one means to "complete a job," *cabulear*. Another contains, again, the notion of economic subjugation, cascarear, to "work for low pay."

There remain three major categories, all of which contain a small number of verbs, and two of which contain Spanish-based verbs alone. The first of these, IV "Weather," is comprised of three Spanish-based terms that refer to precipitation; two concern sleet and one, rain. Since bad weather is a universal phenomenon, there would be no need for the Mexican-American to coin verbs based on meteorological terms in English. The second of these categories, V "Medical," contains four Spanish-based verbs, three of which have to do with injuries and one with heat stroke, all of which could have been experienced by the Mexican-American before his introduction to a different culture. In the final category, VI "General and/or unclassifiable," there appear three verbs with Spanish bases and three with English bases. Among the Spanish-based verbs are afrañar, "understand," cantear, "to incline," and costear, "be worthwhile." The English-based verbs consist of capear, "catch or tattle," craquear, "crack," and cheiquear, "shake or agitate." It is difficult to ascertain any specific semantic areas in which these verbs function since the present authors have no examples of their use in linguistic contexts.

Altogether, this examination of these neologistic verbs has confirmed that the base + palatal + -ar is a highly productive pattern. Semantically, it has shown that when the Mexican-American desired to, or was forced to, adapt to the mores, economic conditions, and artifacts of Anglo-American society, he felt the need to coin new words based on English since his Spanish lexicon did not provide terms for these new developments in his life. As has been seen, for example, in such semantic areas as team sports, secretarial work and educational endeavors, there have been massive coinings of new verbs. Conversely, where the Mexican-American was able to retain his culture of origin, all or in part, as in the semantic areas of dancing, dressing up, and other personal and interpersonal relationships, he retained the corresponding Hispanic bases and used them for the further development of his Spanish language.

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APPENDIX A

LEXICAL ITEMS WITH SPANISH BASES

I. Behavior

A. Personal behavior, domestic setting

1. Eating and drinking

1)	*cusquear*	pick up with a utensil
2)	*gusjear*	eat
3)	*jaspear*	eat
4)	*lambuzquear/lambizquear*	eat between meals
5)	*machetear*	eat voraciously
6)	*martiar/martillar*	eat
7)	*mastiquear*	chew
8)	*pistear*	drink alcohol
9)	*sopear*	use tortillas or bread instead of spoon
10)	*tortillar*	eat tortillas

2. Grooming and dressing

1)	*alinear/linear*	get dressed
2)	*chapear*	put on rouge
3)	*chapetear*	put on rouge
4)	*entacucharse*	dress up
5)	*floriar*	dress up
6)	*laquear*	spray hair
7)	*pintorreguear*	use cosmetics to excess
8)	*pirfantear*	dress up
9)	*polvear*	powder self or nose
10)	*trajear*	dress up

B. Personal behavior, general

1)	*anclear*	settle down
2)	*bostecear*	yawn
3)	*brujear*	go without sleep
4)	*cacaraquear*	guffaw
5)	*cacarear*	cackle
6)	*calcear*	go barefoot
7)	*carcajear*	laugh heartily
8)	*coyotear*	goof off
9)	*chanquilear*	walk
10)	*chapear*	blush

11)	*chicanear*	do one's thing/act like Chicano
12)	*chicotear*	excel
13)	*chisquear*	go crazy
14)	*chistear*	complain
15)	*chivear*	be bashful
16)	*chorrear*	soil
17)	*chotear*	use to excess
18)	*frajear*	smoke cigarette
19)	*jirimiquear*	complain
20)	*lamparear*	eye
21)	*moquear*	drip at the nose
22)	*moretear*	bruise self
23)	*nortear*	go crazy
24)	*papalotear*	excel
25)	*periquear*	talk incessantly
26)	*petatear*	die
27)	*planchar*	sleep
28)	*sofacear*	lie on sofa
29)	*sombrear*	move into/stay in shade
30)	*talonear*	hurry
31)	*temponear*	be used to
32)	*titiritear*	shiver
33)	*tomatear*	stare at
34)	*torear*	make an attempt
35)	*totachar*	speak in Chicano slang/talk in mixed English and Spanish
36)	*trafiquear*	walk/ride

C. Interpersonal behavior, general

1)	*ahuichotear*	encourage/stimulate
2)	*apapachar/papachar*	spoil a child
3)	*azorrillar*	frighten
4)	*babiarse (por)*	covet another's belonging
5)	*baratear*	mix with a crowd
6)	*barbear*	flatter
7)	*borruquear*	confuse
8)	*cachetear*	slap
9)	*cachumbear*	nick a dish/neck
10)	*caldear*	anger/make love
11)	*carrerear*	hurry someone
12)	*colear*	grab/borrow/color
13)	*corretear*	run someone ragged
14)	*cotorrear*	converse
15)	*changuear*	imitate
16)	*chiplear*	spoil a child
17)	*chiquear*	pamper a child or pet
18)	*chistear*	hush someone up
19)	*chivear*	back down
20)	*chopetear*	have intercourse

21)	*chotear*	pet heavily
22)	*chulear*	caress/speak sweetly
23)	*encantonear*	marry
24)	*enseñar*	show one's bad side
25)	*esquinear*	assent/agree
26)	*nalguear*	spank a child
27)	*ningunear*	debase/kill
28)	*pafuelear/pajuelear*	whip/excel
29)	*pajarear*	keep an eye on
30)	*pandear*	retract
31)	*pichonear*	engage in sexual foreplay
32)	*rayarse*	repeat/excel
33)	*sacatear/zacatear*	dodge
34)	*serenatear*	serenade
35)	*sonajear*	spank child
36)	*tironear*	pull at limbs of another in fun, fight, or love
37)	*tortillar*	slap

D. Interpersonal behavior, social formulas

1)	*matrimoniar*	marry
2)	*sentenciar*	warn of revenge

E. Socially disapproved behavior

1. Socially disapproved behavior, general

1)	*abolillar*	act like gringo
2)	*acarrear*	gossip
3)	*cachuquear*	double cross
4)	*casquetear*	masturbate
5)	*corbear*	sponge/freeload
6)	*chacotear*	behave lewdly
7)	*chancear*	commit adultery
8)	*chapetear*	fornicate
9)	*chapucear*	cheat
10)	*chaquetear*	betray
11)	*chismolear/chismorrear*	gossip
12)	*chisquear*	drive someone crazy
13)	*chotear*	defame, make fool of someone
14)	*chulear*	pimp
15)	*disgracear*	impregnate/injure/ruin
16)	*enchinchar*	fill with bed bugs
17)	*engarruñar*	brawl/shrink in anger
18)	*garrotear*	beat up
19)	*huevonear*	be lazy
20)	*idear*	daydream
21)	*jacalear*	gossip
22)	*jetear*	pout
23)	*lambuzquear/lambizquear*	be hypocritically courteous

24)	*lamparear*	ogle
25)	*maderear*	flatter/brag
26)	*manosear*	paw
27)	*manzanear*	bribe
28)	*maromear*	betray
29)	*mirojear*	peek lustily
30)	*mitotear*	raise Hell
31)	*nortear*	drive someone crazy
32)	*pacotear*	betray
33)	*patalear*	kick someone in rear
34)	*pedorrear*	warn/scold/fart continuously
35)	*pepeyendo*	farting (according to Galvan and Teschner the gerund is the only form of the verb used)
36)	*politiquiar*	play politics
37)	*puñetear*	masturbate
38)	*putear*	act as if on the make
39)	*rajolear*	back down
40)	*retobear*	(child) sass an adult
41)	*sanchar*	commit adultery
42)	*tamboretear*	beat up
43)	*tontear*	be foolish
44)	*torear*	go on spree

2. Socially disapproved behavior, criminal

a. Crime, general

1)	*alinear/linear*	go straight
2)	*colear*	tail somebody
3)	*muraguear*	murder
4)	*putear*	solicit, as prostitute
5)	*torear*	defy the law
6)	*trampear*	enter without paying

b. Crime, stealing

1)	*babiarse (por)*	steal
2)	*coyotear*	steal
3)	*mañanear*	steal
4)	*talonear*	steal/hustle

c. Crime, with dope

1)	*pildorear*	ingest narcotics

d. Crime, with knife

1)	*alfilear*	cut someone with knife
2)	*canalear*	cut someone with knife

3)	*charrasquear*	cut someone with knife, leave scar
4)	*filerear*	cut someone with knife
5)	*filetear*	cut someone with knife
6)	*garranchar*	cut someone with knife
7)	*navajear*	cut someone with razor

e. Crime, with weapon other than knife

1)	*cuetear/quetear*	shoot someone
2)	*macanear*	strike over head with heavy object
3)	*pacotear*	stab in back
4)	*plomear*	shoot someone

II. Sports and play

A. Team sports

1)	*capotear*	snatch ball/leave team scoreless
2)	*garrotear*	defeat

B. Boxing

1)	*tironear*	pull at limbs in wrestling

C. Card playing and gambling

1)	*barajear*	play cards

D. Social amusements

1)	*banquetear*	have good time
2)	*maromear*	somersault
3)	*tortear*	applaud

E. General

1)	*fonchar*	cheat at marbles
2)	*pichonear*	easily defeat a novice
3)	*trampear*	hunt animals

F. Dancing

1)	*bolevear*	dance
2)	*borlotear*	dance
3)	*chanclear*	dance wildly
4)	*polquear*	dance polka
5)	*taconear*	dance
6)	*valsear*	dance waltz

III. Work

A. Work, technological

1. Automotive

1)	*arrear*	start car
2)	*carruchar*	ride
3)	*manear*	brake
4)	*mecanear*	do mechanical work
5)	*orillar*	curb car
6)	*pilotear*	drive car
7)	*talonear*	step on the gas/hurry

2. Secretarial

3. Domestic (See III B: Work, domestic below.)

4. Electrical

5. Military

B. Work, domestic

1)	*asear*	clean up
2)	*cocinear*	cook
3)	*copetear*	fill glass
4)	*chicharronear*	burn to crisp
5)	*lamprear*	roast
6)	*tasajear*	slice
7)	*trapear*	dust
8)	*trastear*	wash dishes
9)	*tortear/tortiar*	make tortillas

C. Work, educational

1)	*colear*	color

D. Financial transactions

1)	*cambear*	make change
2)	*feriar*	make change/barter
3)	*pagulear*	pay
4)	*rayar*	pay wages/write checks

E. Labor relations

F. Manual Labor

1)	*azadonear*	hoe
2)	*bolear*	shine shoes

3)	*pegostear*	spread with sticky substance
4)	*sarruchar*	saw

G. Work, general

1)	*cabulear*	complete a chore
2)	*cachuquear*	blow a job
3)	*cambalachar*	hawk
4)	*camear/camillar*	work
5)	*cascarear*	work for low pay
6)	*chambear*	work
7)	*chambonear*	do job awkwardly
8)	*machetear*	do job clumsily
9)	*regranchar*	contract for work

IV. Weather

1)	*candelear*	sleet
2)	*chipear*	light rain
3)	*grajear*	sleet

V. Medical

1)	*asolear*	have heat stroke
2)	*falsear*	sprain knee
3)	*moretear*	bruise
4)	*sangrear*	bleed

IV. General and/or unclassifiable

1)	*afrañar*	understand
2)	*cantear*	incline
3)	*costear*	be worthwhile

APPENDIX B

LEXICAL ITEMS WITH ENGLISH BASES

I. Behavior

A. Personal behavior, domestic setting

1. Eating and drinking

1)	*bironguear*	drink beer or other alcohol
2)	*liquear*	lick
3)	*lonchar*	eat lunch

2. Grooming and dressing

1)	*combiar*	comb
2)	*mechar*	match
3)	*permanentear*	give a permanent
4)	*setear*	set
5)	*shainear*	shine
6)	*tatu(y)ar*	tattoo
7)	*trimear*	trim

B. Personal behavior, general

1)	*bloquear*	block
2)	*bonquear*	sleep
3)	*chusear*	choose
4)	*guachar*	watch
5)	*shoflear*	shuffle
6)	*stepear*	step
7)	*toriquear*	talk

C. Interpersonal behavior, general

1)	*chatapear*	shut up
2)	*espatear*	spot/recognize
3)	*flipear*	flip/go crazy
4)	*flirtear*	flirt
5)	*fulear*	fool
6)	*jainear*	make love
7)	*pinchar*	pinch
8)	*tisear*	tease
9)	*tochar*	touch
10)	*tritear*	treat
11)	*trostear*	trust
12)	*yonkiar*	junk, throw away

D. Interpersonal behavior, social formulas

1)	*pronuncear*	declare that something is so

E. Socially disapproved behavior

1. Socially disapproved behavior, general

1)	*canquear*	beat someone up
2)	*mochar/muchar*	mooch
3)	*monquear*	monkey around
4)	*parquear*	overstay one's welcome
5)	*pinchar*	pinch
6)	*pompear*	fornicate
7)	*ponchar*	punch
8)	*swinguear*	swing

2. Socially disapproved behavior, criminal

a. Crime, general

1)	*estulear*	stool on someone
2)	*freimear*	frame
3)	*joslear*	hustle
4)	*licorear*	look over/case the joint

b. Crime, stealing

1)	*requetear*	steal
2)	*rolear*	roll/steal

c. Crime, with dope

1)	*capear*	put heroin in capusles
2)	*estufear*	sniff residue of narcotics

d. Crime, with knife

e. Crime, with weapon other than knife

1)	*chutear*	shoot

II. Sports and play

A. Team sports

1)	*batear*	bat
2)	*cachar/quechar*	catch
3)	*cañonear*	throw a cannonball pass
4)	*chutear*	shoot
5)	*driblear*	dribble

6) *estraiquear*	strike at and miss/strike someone out
7) *fanear*	fan/strike out
8) *fildear*	play position of fielder
9) *golear*	make a goal
10) *golfear*	play golf
11) *pichar*	pitch
12) *rachar*	rush
13) *swinguear*	swing
14) *quiquear*	kick

B. Boxing and wrestling

1) *catear*	give someone an uppercut
2) *fletear*	flatten someone
3) *naquear/noquear*	knock out
4) *ponchar*	punch
5) *ringuear*	ring a bell
6) *soquear*	sock

C. Card playing and gambling

1) *betear*	bet
2) *blofear*	bluff
3) *dilear*	deal
4) *poquear*	play poker

D. Social amusements

1) *cabaretear*	go night clubbing
2) *campear*	go camping
3) *clapear*	applaud/cut in, while dancing
4) *plujear*	plunge
5) *swimear*	swim
6) *trapear*	go hunting

E. General

1) *escrachar*	scratch, eliminate
2) *jonchar*	move marble shooter closer to target

F. Dancing

III. Work

A. Work, Technological

1. Automotive

1) *baquear*	back
2) *bompear*	bump

3)	*brequear*	brake
4)	*choquear*	choke
5)	*crenquear*	crank
6)	*draivear*	drive
7)	*estarear*	start
8)	*fletear*	flatten a tire
9)	*güeldear*	weld
10)	*parquear*	park
11)	*ponchar*	puncture a tire
12)	*puchar/apuchar*	push
13)	*raitear*	give or get a ride
14)	*requear*	wreck
15)	*yequear*	jack up

2. Secretarial

1)	*chequear*	check
2)	*dailear*	dial
3)	*esteiplear*	staple
4)	*sainear*	sign
5)	*taipear*	type
6)	*teipear*	tape

3. Domestic (See III B: Work, domestic below.)

4. Electrical

1)	*ploguear*	plug in

5. Military

1)	*machinganear*	shoot, with machinegun

B. Work, domestic

1)	*clinear*	clean
2)	*cuquear*	cook
3)	*dompear*	dump
4)	*dostear*	dust
5)	*flochar*	flush
6)	*guarear/warear*	water (plants)
7)	*laquear*	lock
8)	*mopear*	mop
9)	*mixear*	mix
10)	*polichar*	polish
11)	*pompear*	pump
12)	*teipear*	tape
13)	*waxear*	wax

C. Work, educational

1)	*copear*	copy
2)	*cuitear/quitear*	quit

3)	*charpear*	sharpen (pencil)
4)	*chitear*	cheat
5)	*dropear*	drop (course)
6)	*espelear/espeletear*	spell
7)	*esquechar*	sketch
8)	*esquipear*	skip
9)	*feilear*	fail
10)	*flipear*	flip out in a course
11)	*flonquear/flankiar*	flunk
12)	*impruvear*	improve
13)	*instructear*	instruct
14)	*juquear*	play hookey
15)	*mistear*	miss
16)	*practicear*	practice
17)	*ringuear*	ring (bell)
18)	*testear*	test
19)	*tichar*	teach

D. Financial transactions

1)	*buquear*	enter a purchase as debit against future wages
2)	*cleimear*	claim
3)	*charchear*	charge

E. Labor relations

1)	*cuitear/quitear*	quit
2)	*discharchar*	discharge
3)	*estraiquear/straiquear*	go on strike
4)	*piquetar*	picket

F. Manual labor

1)	*shainear*	shine

G. Work, general

1)	*güerquear*	work
2)	*pulear*	pull

IV. Weather

V. Medical

VI. General and/or unclassifiable

1)	*capear*	catch/tattle on someone
2)	*craquear*	crack
3)	*cheiquear*	shake

VERB USAGE IN SOUTHWEST SPANISH: IMPLICATIONS FOR LANGUAGE CHANGE

Mary Beth Floyd
Northern Illinois University

One feature of Southwest varieties of Spanish which has often been observed by investigators is the relative disuse of the inflected or morphological future verb forms (e.g. *comeré*, *hablará*, *viviremos*, etc.). Similarly the conditional verb form (e.g. *comería*, *hablariá* *viviríamos* has been noted by some investigators to be rare in Southwest varieties of Spanish. Such relative disuse and apparently, in some cases, loss of these forms in Spanish would seem to be a viable area of language change.

The purpose of this paper is to consider to what extent such changes are characteristic for Southwest varieties of Spanish or for American Spanish in general and what grammatical consequences these changes have in the verb system of Spanish. Also of interest are those factors, both internal and external to the language, which might cause or enhance such linguistic change, and implications these changes might have for the study of language variation and language change in general.

The relative disuse of the morphological future forms to express futurity or anticipation in independent clauses (e.g. *hablará mañana)* and the preference for use of present tense forms (e.g. *habla mañana)* or for the use of the *ir a* plus infinitive construction (e.g. *va a hablar*) as substitutes has been generally observed in Southwest varieties of Spanish. (Marrocco, 1972; Sánchez, 1972, 1974, Solé, 1977, Ross, 1975).

In a study of verb syntax of university-age Colorado informants, the *ir a* plus infinitive construction was found to represent more than 60% of those forms used by speakers in contexts involving futurity in spontaneous portions of the interview session (Floyd, 1976).

> yo creo que no mas *voy a jarrar* transfer pa' . . .
> no *voy a arrear* mi bicicleta antes que . . .

About one third of the forms used by informants in such contexts involved present tense.

> yo *voy* pa' Monte Vista a visitar mi familia . . . y
> llego el domingo yo *vengo* pa' tras
> *garro* social security en cuatro años

It might be noted that while all of the informants used present forms to some degree to express futurity, the informants generally showed a more frequent use of the *ir a* construction. With the exception of one informant who used an inflected future form on one occasion, no inflected future forms were observed in the data.

If the preference of the present or the *ir a* plus infinitive periphrastic construction over the inflected future forms is a patterned use, then, we might look for factors internal or external to the language that relate to or enhance such a trend. The structure of Spanish allows for alternative modes of expression of futurity with respect to an event or a state in a main clause. Within this range of alternatives, not all of which are needed by speakers of the language, the alternative in which the futurity is signalled morphologically by way of a verb ending shows evidence of being supplanted among many speakers by one or both of two alternatives, one involving lexical, i.e., adverbial cues, (e.g. *mañana*, *más tarde*) in combination with present tense forms, and the other alternative involving syntactic cues, i.e., the *ir a* plus infinitive construction.

The external factor of influence of English in situations of bilingualism and language contact might also be seen to offer the possibility of explanation. Since the English expression of futurity *to be going to* plus the infinitive closly parallels the *ir a* construction, the possibility exists that the *ir a* construction *is* reinforced structurally among bilingual speakers due *to* their own familiarity with English. If we were to observe the preponderance of the *ir a* construction only among bilingual speakers among whom influence from English might be possible, the factor of syntactic influence of English on Spanish might offer a possible explanation of the tendency. If, on the other hand, the same preference for the *ir a* construction is observed among monolingual speakers of Spanish, the *factor* of possible English syntactic influence would be irrelevant and perhaps only entirely coincidental.

The relative disuse of the morphological future forms has often been observed in past studies of Latin American varieties of Spanish. When such observations have been reported, the factors of bilingualism and language contact have not been mentioned. Observations made for Mexican Spanish (Lope Blanch, 1972; Boyd-Bowman, 1960) and for American Spanish in general (Gili Gaya, 1972; Kany, 1951, Rosenblat, 1946, Malmberg, 1971) regarding the weakening or the rarity of future forms in favor of the periphrastic constructions suggest that it is a general feature of American, i.e., New World Spanish. If such a feature is pervasive among monolingual speakers of American Spanish, the preference for the periphrastic construction probably has very little, if anything, to do with syntactic influence from English.

Some investigators of American Spanish who have observed this preference for alternative modes of expressing futurity other than the morphological forms, have noted that this feature is particularly prevalent in popular speech (Rosenblat, 1946; Boyd-Bowman, 1960; Gili Gaya, 1972). Such references to disuse of the future in "el habla popular" or "el habla coloquial" suggest its disuse in the style of everyday speech as spoken by the people as distinguished from a style of language associated with formal usage, e.g. that prescribed as the "accepted" prestige norm for the larger Spanish-speaking community. If formal speech is acquired partly, or for some monolingual speakers, primarily, through exposure to a standard variety of language in a school environment and in learning to read and write, the factors of formal education and literacy in Spanish would be expected to be related to usage of future forms.

The similarity between features of popular speech and features in the speech of children has been observed (Gili Gaya, 1972; Solé, 1977). Gili Gaya (1972), reporting on a study of Puerto Rican children, observed that the morphological future was rarely used among preschool children in expressing futurity, and that the use of future forms even among fourth grade children was limited primarily to their conversations with teachers and their written exercises in school. It is not clear, however, to what extent the use of the inflected future might have been established among the adult speakers who would have served as the adult model for the Puerto Rican children. It is possible that the use of the morphological future, is, in effect, a function of language development. Whether this development is in the direction of the adult established norm for the speech community or whether it is a development in the direction of a formal mode of speaking acquired only for some children at school among teachers and in an academic setting is not known.

A study of monolingual Mexican children ages 5 to 12 years (Kernan and Blount, 1966) indicates clearly that the "correct" use of inflected future verb forms increased with age between the three groups studied, i.e., ages 5-7, 8-10, and 11-12. In this case adult speakers' responses to the same measure used for the children clearly established that the adult speakers of the community did use inflected future forms. Since there was no pre-school group with which to compare the 5-7 year old children, however, again it is difficult to know if the use of future verb forms among the children had already begun to be acquired before the age at which the children entered school, or if its use was a function of the onset of formal education in Spanish.

If the "correct" use of inflected future forms is seen to increase with age, as does the use of other verb forms as reported in studies of children's Spanish (González, 1971, Kernan and Blount, 1966), then its use could be largely a function of development, independent of the factor of the onset of formal education. But since both increasing age and the onset of formal education coincide, we cannot determine clearly which is the case. In speech communities in which the adult speakers use inflected future forms to express futurity, the differential use of the future by children at different ages is probably a function of the normal developmental process. With increased exposure and maturation, there would be little reason to expect that children's Spanish would not ultimately emulate that of the adults in the monolingual community. In communities, however, in which the future is not used commonly by the adult speakers, children would not be expected to acquire and develop mastery of the use of the future without the intervention of some external factor such as formal schooling in the language or exposure to a new "norm" or standard of linguistic behavior.

If the situation is a complex one among monolingual speakers, it is all the less clear in circumstances of bilingualism in which the factor of formal education intorduces the concommitant factor of a second language. In the absence of external interventions to teach the use of the inflected future, the alternative means of expressing futurity are likely to be perpetuated and in time the inflected future could be lost entirely. This might well be what is happening in the Southwest, perhaps in varying degrees in different communities.

The foregoing comments are not intended to suggest that the morphological future form is never used among speakers of Spanish in the Southwest. Nevertheless, this is an area of verb syntax which certainly seems to be in a state of flux in Southwest varieties of Spanish. Already some investigators have stated that the future tense has been replaced by the use of present indicative forms in Southwest Spanish (Solé, 1977) or by the periphrastic *ir a* construction (Sánchez, 1974).

With respect to the use of future forms to express probability, the findings of past investigations do not converge. Some investigators (Sánchez, 1972; Ross, 1975) have observed the use of future to be restricted to this function; others (Solé, 1977) have observed that the present indicative with lexical cues or the use of the auxiliary verb *deber* has supplanted the future forms for expression of probability.

It has been observed (Lope Blanch, 1972) that among Mexican speakers the vitality of the inflected future forms has been retained only in this very function, i.e., as an expression of probability or conjecture, while the form has tended to lose its function of expressing the strictly temporal distinction of future time. Similarly Puerto Rican children were found (Gili Gaya, 1972) not to use the inflected future forms to express anticipation at preschool levels and still at fourth grade, yet they did use the form in its function of expression of probability. Such findings perhaps provoke more questions than they provide answers. It has been suggested (Hernández Alonso, 1968) that it is not the form of the inflected future that speakers of Spanish tend to reject, but rather its function to express futurity. Since there exist lexical alternatives, such as the use of *deber* or the range of dubitative expression served by the use of subjunctive introduced by *puede ser que*, *quizá*, *tal vez*, etc., the use of such alternative means of expressing probability as substitutes for the inflected future would not be surprising.

It is possible that the external factor of English influence might reinforce the tendency toward lexical substitutes among bilingual speakers since expression of probability in English by means of auxiliaries such as *must*, *ought to*, or *should* as well as adverbials such as *probably*, *I suppose that*, etc., parallel alternative forms already available to speakers of Spanish.

The use of the conditional, which parallels the morphological future in form and in function in many ways, has not received as much attention by investigators of Southwest varieties of Spanish. Very little attention has been given to the use of the conditional form to express futurity or anticipation with respect to past time in the Southwest. One exception, however, is the use or non use of conditional forms in result clauses of "contrary-to-fact" sentences (e.g., *si tuviera la oportunidad*, iría a México). While the use of the conditional has been observed among some speakers in some areas (Lance, 1969; Marrocco, 1972, Phillips, 1967), other investigators have observed the use of conditional to be rare in such contexts (Olstad, 1973; Ross, 1975). The use of imperfect indicative in the result clause of such hypothetical contexts has been very generally observed in the Southwest (Lance, 1969; Marrocco, 1972; Sánchez, 1972, 1974; Solé, 1977; Phillips, 1967; Ross, 1975). The use of imperfect subjunctive in place of the conditional has also been observed in several studies (Lance, 1969; Sánchez, 1972, 1974; Marrocco, 1972; Solé, 1977) and has been noted as the most frequently occurring form among speakers in some areas (Phillips, 1967; Ross, 1975).

Hypothetical or contrary-to-fact expressions were studied in speech of the Colorado informants (Floyd, 1976). Such contexts were observed in spontaneous speech of some of the informants. In addition contexts were presented by way of structured elicitation items, in order that responses of all of the informants might be considered. Despite the seeming profusion of verb forms in these hypothetical contexts, certain patterns emerged from both the structured and the more spontaneous portions of the corpus.

In spontaneous contexts involving the result clause of hypothetical expressions, the imperfect subjunctive and the imperfect indicative forms were of equally frequent occurrence (33%) in the corpus.

> En el principio lo que *quisiera* yo es . . .
> . . . *estuviera* interesado en trabajar con alcohólicos . . .
> Yo creo primero le *daba* todo lo que pudiera a mis hijos
> y luego agarrar - le *ayudaba* más, yo creo, a mi gente . . .

Other forms, i.e., imperfect progressive subjunctive, imperfect progressive indicative, present indicative, preterite and even uninflected forms, were observed, but the occurrence of such forms represented a small percentage of the total occurrences of such contexts in the spontaneous data. Only one informant was observed to use a conditional in a result clause in a spontaneous context. In elicited contexts the preferences were less clearly observable. Some forms were used by more than one informant; others were used only by individual informants. It might be noted that among the more than 80 such contexts observed in the total corpus of spontaneous data, only one informant was observed to use a conditional form. However, when informants paraphrased a stimulus sentence which included a conditional form, nearly half of the responses involved a conditional form.

The function of the conditional form to express futurity with respect to a past frame of reference was also investigated. The form which was used the majority of the time to express such futurity was the periphrastic ir a plus infinitive construction, with the imperfect indicative form of ir.

cuando yo estaba chiquito yo pensaba que mis pap . . .
  mis padres iban a vivir todo el tiempo
mi esposo me hizo un promeso que me iba a componer
  el diente

Other patterns of usage among the informants emerged, however, among them, the imperfect indicative.

el recruiter llegó por mí y dijo que me alistara . . .
  que venía por mí en una hora
Estaba allá en un cuarto estudiando por un examen que
  yo tenía . . . a las una ayer

The present indicative forms as well as the present of ir a plus infinitive constructions were observed in the speech of two of the informants. Conditional forms were never used by any of the informants in such contexts expressing futurity.

In general, then, the expression of futurity with respect to present among the Colorado informants, was very patterned. All informants except one were observed to have established the use of ir a plus infinitive construction or the use of present forms in the expression of futurity with respect to present, the ir a construction being the more frequent. Expressions of futurity with respect to past time, however, were less patterned or established among the informants as a group. While among the majority of the informants the use of imperfect or the use of the imperfect of ir a plus infinitive was apparently established, some informants responded to such contexts of futurity with a past reference with present forms or the present of ir a plus infinitive. Apparently the ir a construction was perceived as conveying futurity, but the temporal orientation, i.e., past, was not necessarily expressed by these informants. It must be noted, then, that while the inflected future and conditional forms were generally recognized as expressions of futurity with respect to present and past time respectively, the forms were not a part of the linguistic repertoire of the informants.

Summary:

While investigations have not been exhaustive, results from existing studies of Southwest varieties of Spanish suggest, then, that future and conditional forms are being supplanted by alternate forms of expression in the speech of many speakers, or perhaps most, in expressions involving futurity. To what extent such forms may also be losing their function of expression of conjecture or probability as well as courtesy or politeness cannot be yet determined from the existing literature. Certainly the supplanting of the conditional form in result clauses of contrary-to-fact environments by either imperfect indicative or imperfect subjunctive forms has been attested by many investigators. Several researchers of Southwest varieties of Spanish have noted a so-called "breaking down" or a "confusion" of the distinction between imperfect subjunctive or imperfect indicative forms and the conditional forms (Phillips, 1967; Sánchez, 1974; Lance, 1970.

Such a trend may be a function of largely internal factors, e.g. the existence of alternate means of expression within Spanish itself. The use of present forms or the present of ir a plus infinitive to express futurity with respect to present has a direct parallel in the use of imperfect indicative forms or the ir a plus infinitive for expression of futurity or anticipation with respect to past time. That the imperfect indicative forms or the ir a construction should supplant the use of the conditional forms would be predictable on the basis of the change seen in the expression of futurity with respect to present. Further, the tendency for imperfect indicative forms to take on other functions served by conditional forms in other dialects can be seen as an extension of the same phenomenon. If the imperfect indicative takes on the function of the conditional forms in expressions of futurity, then its replacing the conditional in result clauses is not surprising. That the conditional should be replaced by the imperfect subjunctive in result clauses in contrary-to-fact environments may perhaps be due to a type of syntactic assimilation in which the influence of the imperfect subjunctive in the si clause is felt and has consequences for the verb form used in the result clause as well.

Certainly the data from Southwest varieties of Spanish suggest this to be an area of viable morphosyntactic change in modern Spanish. Such tendencies toward change described above are not isolated phenomena for the Southwest alone, but rather are congruent with trends observed in other varieties of Latin American Spanish. Since the changes have been observed in so many areas of the Spanish-speaking world, the changes must be, in part, a response to factors internal to the Spanish language itself. Perhaps such changes have been perpetuated or enhanced all the more, however, in the Southwest by external factors related to the bilingual conditional of the speakers involved. Such changes might be more prevalent and evolve more rapidly in the Southwest or in other bilingual areas when the exposure of bilingual speakers to an externally imposed and widely accepted "prestige" standard is minimal or perhaps non existent. The absence of constraints and conservative influences imposed by an external "standard" for language behavior and the primarily oral transmission of the language from generation to generation may perhaps be the most important factors enhancing or facilitating the language change. The additional factors of language contact and the interruption of the natural morphosyntactic developmental stages of the language may perhaps be additional factors which operate for some speakers to further reinforce such tendencies toward change. Certainly the whole question would seem to be one deserving of further investigation not only for Southwest Spanish in particular but for United States and American Spanish in general.

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LANGUAGE USE IN MARTINEZTOWN

John R. Gutierrez
University of New Mexico

INTRODUCTION

It has been pointed out that a bilingual situation can exist as a stablized phenomenon only if there is a functional differentiation between the two languages. Any society that produces balanced bilinguals will soon cease to be bilingual, since no society needs two languages for one and the same function.[1] Such a bilingual situation is alive today in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in the coexistence of Spanish and English. It is manifest that a bilingual situation exists; however, the functions of these two languages are in need of delineation. The primary objective of this study is to explore and report on the functions of Spanish and English in Martineztown, a predominantly Chicano area of Albuquerque.

In order to arrive at this, the use of the two languages will be analyzed in relation to the domain in which they are used. A domain is defined as a cluster of social situations which are typically constrained by a common set of behavior rules.[2] The domains which are relevant for a given bilingual community may vary and in this study the domains of work, school, home, and recreation will be observed. Variables such as age, sex, religion, and education will be analyzed as to their relation to the use of the two languages in these domains.

If this bilingual situation is to continue, one language must be used more in certain domains while the other is used more in other domains. As soon as the two languages begin to overlap, it can be expected that Spanish will give way to English--the socially dominant, more prestigious language.[3] English, being the mother tongue of many of the inhabitants of Albuquerque, appears to be replacing some of the functions which once belonged to Spanish. Such a replacement constitutes a language shift, and it will be the secondary objective of this study to assess the possibility of a shift occurring in Martineztown.

METHODOLOGY

The data used in the present study had been collected previously by researchers in the Department of Linguistics at the University of New Mexico as part of an earlier study on bilingualism in Martineztown. The subjects (N=181) were all members of fifty families and were all residents of Martineztown.

The instruments used to collect the data were questionnaires and taped interviews in which a representative of each family was asked to respond to a number of questions relating to the use of Spanish and English by each member of the household. Along with this, they were asked to render such information as sex, age, ethnic group, occupation, religion and amount of education. Part of the questionnaire was a five-point scale where the participants responded to the amount of Spanish and English they used in a given situation. The five points on the scale corresponded to Spanish, More Spanish, Both Spanish and English, More English, and English. In compiling the results, Spanish and More Spanish were combined into simply More Spanish as was English and More English into More English, with the category of Both English and Spanish being ignored.

RESULTS

The results of the study are divided into four parts, each representing a distinct domain. In the two segments which discuss the school and work domains, only a very general overview of language use will be given since the results showed English to be quite dominant in both cases. In the two remaining portions, which will deal with the home and recreation domains, a more detailed elaboration will be presented since there appear to be several factors correlating with language use.

SCHOOL LANGUAGE USE

Given the fact that we are in the United States and that the only official language of the country is English, it seems obvious that the language used in this domain would be English. In the present study, 91% of the participants who were in school said they use more English in this situation while only 9% reported using more Spanish. Clearly, English is overwhelmingly the language used in the school domain.

WORK LANGUAGE USE

Judging from intuition and general observation it was conjectured that English would be the dominant language used in the domain of employment. In this situation 44% of the subjects indicated they used more English while a mere 24% stated they used more Spanish. The use of English in these circumstances is not nearly as great as in the previous domain. However, the numbers do point to the fact that it is the predominant language used in employment.

HOME LANGUAGE USE

It was hypothesized that Spanish would definitely be the language used by residents of this part of Albuquerque in the domain of the home. The results showed that 45% of the respondents use more Spanish in this domain while 39% indicated they use more English. The percentage difference is not as startling as was originally thought, although the use of Spanish does seem to be more prevalent.

Religion

The religion of the majority of the subjects was Roman Catholic, but there were several Protestants. Of the participants in the study who were Catholic 44% reported using Spanish in the home while 64% of the Protestants stated they use more Spanish. These figures imply some type of correlation between the use of Spanish in the home and being Protestant, but an analysis of the language use of a larger sample is necessary before definite conclusions may be reached.

Age

The 181 subjects were divided into five age groups: one to five, six to sixteen, seventeen to thirty, thirty-one to fifty, and those over fifty. The first three groups produced some astonishing results in that 87% of the first group, 96% of the second, and 60% of the third group reported using more English in the home. The reports of the fourth and fifth groups resulted in a strong reversal of those of the first three groups. Spanish was reported to be the language used by 67% of the fourth group and 87% of the fifth group in the home domain.

It is evident that these figures are pointing to the fact that the younger members of the community--that is, those under thirty--are using English on a much wider scale than their elders. These results may be bringing to light an interesting development in terms of the use of Spanish and English in Martineztown. Spanish, which functions as the predominant language of the home in this area, is actually being replaced by English among the members of the speech community under the age of thirty, implying that an overt language shift is in process.

Sex

It was hypothesized that the Spanish language among Chicanos in the Southwest is being maintained more strongly by the male population. The data in the present study do not support the assumption since approximately 45% of both males and females indicated they use more Spanish in the home. We can only infer that it is being maintained on equal basis by both sexes.

Amount of Education

It was felt that the amount of education would be another factor that would correlate with the language used in the home domain. The education level of the 181 subjects was spread out over eighteen categories, ranging from no education to a Ph.D. A number of these categories had very few subjects in them, making a significant generalization about their language use somewhat impossible. The category of no education and the category of twelfth grade education were chosen for the analysis, since they were the two with the largest number of subjects in them.

Of those who had completed the twelfth grade, 43% reported they speak more Spanish in the home. Of the respondents in the category of no education, 48% reported using more Spanish in the home. These results seem to imply that the amount of education does correlate with the amount of Spanish spoken in the home. Due to the small number of people observed, however, more research based on a larger sample of both groups is essential before any significant conclusions may be reached.

RECREATION LANGUAGE USE

It was predicted that Spanish would be the language used by the members of this speech community in the domain of recreation. Spanish was reported to be the language used by 42% of the respondents, while 41% reported they use more English in this domain. The minute percentage difference indicates a rather even balance in the use of the two languages in this situation, but an analysis of other variables and their relation to recreation language use may shed more light on the issue.

Religion

Religion, as in the analysis of home language use, was thought to have some influence on the language used in this domain. Spanish was reportedly used more by 41% of the Catholic subjects and 64% of the Portestants. Again religion seems to correlate with the language used in this domain, but for reasons cited previously, caution should be employed in interpreting these results.

Age

Age had the same relationship to recreation language use as it did to home language. In the first two age groups (1 to 5 and 6 to 16) 100% of the participants replied that they use English in this domain. The third group (17 to 30) spoke more Spanish than the previous two, but 55% of this group use more English. In the fourth group (31 to 50) 66% said they use more Spanish wile 85% of the final group (over 50) said they also use more Spanish. The data again show English to be the dominant language used in recreation among the members of the speech community under the age of thirty, reinforcing the possibility that Spanish is being maintained only by the population over thirty.

Sex

In terms of male and female langauge use in recreation, there seems to be no difference. Spanish is used by 41% of the males and 42% of the females in this situation, again discounting the possibility that Spanish is being maintained to a greater degree by the male population.

Amount of Education

It was conjectured that the level of education would, as in home language use, have some bearing on the language used by the participants in recreation. Only the responses of those in the categories of no education and twelfth grade education were taken into account for reasons explained previously. In the group with no education, 62% of the participants stated they use Spanish in this domain. Spanish was reported to be the language used by 38% of the group with a high school education in the same situation. These results seem to imply that the amount of education does play a role in the language used by the people of Martineztown while in recreational activities.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has explored and reported on the function of Spanish and English in the area of Albuquerque, known as Martineztown. From the results discussed in the previous sections it is possible to arrive at the following conclusions concerning the use of the two languages.

1. English is functioning as the language of the school domain.

2. English also functions as the language of the employment domain.

3. Spanish is functioning as the language of the home domain. Several factors are affecting the use of Spanish, but the home domain definitely seems to be the maintenance stronghold of this language.

4. In the recreation domain, Spanish and English appear to be functioning on roughly an equal basis, with variables such as age and amount of education influencing language use.

5. There was no evident correlation between sex and language maintenance. It was expected that males would maintain Spanish to a greater extent, but the results failed to produce such evidence.

6. There is a slight but evident relationship between educational level and the language used by the speech community in the domains of the home and recreation, i.e., the more the education, the smaller the amount of Spanish spoken.

7. The greatest factor correlating with language use in this study was age. English appears to be functioning as the language of all the domains for the members of the speech community under thirty, implying that an overt language shift is in process in Martineztown.

As can be seen from the results of this study, the status of the Spanish language in this part of Albuquerque cannot be looked upon with much optimism. The language has clearly been displaced in the domains of school and employment. In the domain of recreation, English is slowly beginning to impose itself as the dominant language, which is surely one more sign of the danger confronting Spanish.

The only promising note regarding the maintenance of Spanish is that it is still the predominant language used in the home. This level of maintenance is the last stronghold of this language which may not last much longer. The function of Spanish as a home language is beginning to erode and this is nowhere more eivdent than in the language use of those members of the speech community under the age of thirty.

If we look upon the language use in Martineztown as a sample of language use in the Southwest, we not only can see the imminent danger facing Spanish, but also the need for drastic efforts in language maintenance. Bilingual education programs should be commended for their struggle to maintain Spanish, but they have a potential that is yet far from being realized. These programs have to be extended into junior high and high schools and even into the university if Spanish in the Southwest is to be given even the slightest chance for survival.[4]

NOTES

1. Joshua A. Fishman. "Sociolinguistic Perspective on the Study of Bilingualism." In Fishman, Cooper, Ma, etc. al. Bilingualism in the Barrio. Indiana U. Publications, Language Science Monographs #7. The Hague: Mouton, 1971.

2. ________. Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1971.

3. Andrew D. Cohen. "Assessing Language Maintenance in Spanish Speaking Communities in the Southwest." In Hernandez-Chavez, et. al. El lenguaje de los Chicanos. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1975.

4. I wish to thank Dr. Garland D. Bills for the helpful suggestions he made during the preparation of this paper.

REALIZATIONS OF THREE ENGLISH SOUNDS IN TUCSON SPANISH

Geri Merz
University of Houston

The influence of English in the syntax and vocabulary of the Spanish of the Southwest is obvious, as in *Trabajo porque tengo que* 'I work because I have to,' *Vamos a tener muy buen tiempo* 'We're really going to have a good time,' or in these phrases with *hacer*, here used for tensing rather like "*do* support," *hago try* 'I try,' *hice overdo* 'I overdid it,' *para que haga decide* 'so that she can decide,' *para que hiciera relax* 'so that I'd relax,' and items as *ganga* 'gang,' and *troque* 'truck.' Several phonemes of the Spanish of Tucson, Arizona, also show alternation in the direction of English. Those phones with which this paper is concerned are (1) labiodental [v] contrasting with the bilabials [b] and [ƀ], as in *voy a hablar* 'I'm going to talk'; (2) fricative [š] for affricate [ĉ], as in *ocho* 'eight'; and (3) retroflex [R] for alveolar tap [r], as in *carne* 'meat.' We will examine the environments in which the three sounds occur, and the extent to which they are found in the Spanish of the area under study, as well as in the rest of the Southwest, plus other synchronic and diachronic observations pertinent to the occurrence of these sounds in Spanish.

The data are based on the taped, transcribed spontaneous and non-spontaneous speech of nine female native Spanish speakers of Mexican ancestry who were born in Tucson, Arizona, and are of a low socioeconomic group. These women have always lived in the (Mexican) barrios in Tucson, which are 24% Spanish-speaking. Approximately 71% of the Spanish speakers in Tucson are from Sonora, Mexico, 6% from Chihuahua, 5% from Sinaloa, etc. (Lennhoff, 1960). The ancestors of 8 of the informants are in fact from the bordering state of Sonora, 65 miles to the south of Tucson, and those of one informant, B, are from Mexico City. The women are of differing ages and education. Informants A, B, and C are about 20, L, M, and N about 40, and X, Y, and Z about 60 years old. Four of the 5 oldest attended school a few years; the four youngest started high school.

THE VOICED LABIODENTAL FRICATIVE [v]. The voiced labiodental fricative [v] alternates with the voiced bilabial stop/fricative allophones for orthographic *b/v* in the speech of the Tucson women. The phones will be referred to as the labiodental and the bilabial.

The labiodental *v* existed in Old Spanish (Lapesa, 1965:28, 245) and labiodental or bilabial pronunciation was still a source of confusion in the eighteen century (Navarro Tomás, 1921:1, 4). The b/v contrast is maintained in Judaeo-Spanish dialects (Umphrey and Adatto, 1936). The teaching of labiodental pronunciation for *v* in schools is attested to in Guanajuato (Boyd-Bowman, 1960:54), Montevideo and Caracas (López and Macías, 1979). Ayer (1971:117) suggests that Mexican-American youths in southwestern United States who are literate in English transfer

TABLE 1. /b/ Allophones Visually Verified

				A	B	L	N	X	Y		[ƀ]~[v]
Utterance initial			[b]	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	
	b	*boca*[a]	[ƀ]	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	
		beso	[v]	1	2	2	0	2	1	8	0
	v	*verdad*	[b]	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	
		vaso	[ƀ]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			[v]	1	2	2	2	2	1	10	
Postnasal			[b]	0	0	1	1	1	1	4	
	b	*un beso*	[ƀ]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			[v]	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	
	v	*un vaso*	[b]	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	
			[ƀ]	0-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
			[v]	0-1	1	1	1	0	0	3	
After *l*, *r*			[b]	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	
	b	*al banco*	[ƀ]	0-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		árbol	[v]	1-2	2	2	1	2	2	10	
	v	*el vino*	[b]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
		servía	[ƀ]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			[v]	2	2	2	2	2	2	12	
Before *l*, *r*			[b]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	b	*abra*	[ƀ]	0-1	0	0	1-2	0	0-1	1	3
		ropa blanca	[v]	1-2	2	2	0-1	2	1-2	8	
Intervocalic			[b]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	b	*mi boca*	[ƀ]	2	0	0	1	0	0	3	0
		iba	[v]	0	2	2	1	2	2	9	
	v	*la verdad*	[b]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
		la ventana	[ƀ]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			[v]	2	2	2	2	2	2	12	
Totals			[b]	1	0	1	3	2	4	11	
			[ƀ]	3-6	0	0	3-4	0	0-1	6	5
			[v]	9-12	16	15	9-10	14	11-12	74	

[a] English words eliciting Spanish: mouth, kiss, truth, glass, a kiss, a glass, to the bank, tree, the wine, I used to serve, open, white clothes, my mouth, I was going, the truth, the window.

the /b/-/v/ English distinction to their Spanish. The labiodental is found throughout the Southwest, except in northern New Mexico (Espinosa, 1909; Hills, 1938) and in southern Colorado (Ross, 1975). Phillips (1972:209) finds that among his Los Angeles informants "those who speak English and the younger speakers use the v the most." Timm (1976), whose study of 9 California Chicano Spanish speakers supports Phillips' findings claims that it is far preferable to attribute the labiodental to the influence of the English /v/ than to hypercorrection or to archaism.

In this study orthographic b and v occur in syllable initial position. The distribution of stops and fricatives are mentioned only in passing. Such things as loss of /b/ after /m/ in tabién or loss of /b/ before the back glide and in V_V are not discussed.

Labiodental vs. bilabial articulation is difficult to discern from the tape by ear, especially in intervocalic position as in esta[v]a or esta[ƀ]a. The material presented is thus limited to the (intended) point of articulation as verified visually on a return visit to 6 of the 9 informants. So that the interviewer's Spanish pronunciation would not influence that of the informant, the utterances were elicited by English words or short phrases which are those at the bottom of Table 1.

The informants generally use the labiodental more often than the bilabial. The postnasal position is the least favorable to the labiodental; in this position the bilabial is preferred for orthographic b and is used just less than half the time for orthographic v. The stop b is used only in postnasal and utterance initial positions (except one example of ár[b]ol, and even in these 2 positions it alternates with the labiodental. There are no examples of word medial postnasal /b/. In the utterance medial occurrences [v] prevails, 100% when it is orthographic v. There is, in fact, a slight tendency for the pronunciation to correspond to the orthography, as approximately 88%-90% of the orthographic v's are labiodental and 69%-75% of the b's. In several cases, especially in ropa blanca, some informants use either articulation with the alternation being between the two fricatives [ƀ] and [v]. The numbers of those occurrences are on the far right column of Table 1.

The following three categories of language use, the preferred language as stated by the informant, the language used by the informant in her home as observed by the interviewer, and the interviewer's estimation of the informant's language proficiency, when compared with the /b/ allophone results reveal that those informants with more English, B, L, and X, use [v] the most. Even so, all of the informants use the labiodental more than half of the time for the /b/ phoneme.

Informant:	A	B	C	L	M	N	X	Y	Z
Preferred language as stated by informant	S	E	E	S	S	S	E	E	S
Home language of informant as observed by interviewer	S	E[b]	E	E[b]	S	S	E	S	S
Dominant language as estimated by interviewer	S	E-S	E	E-S	S	S	S	S	S

[b] Uses Spanish in mother's presence.

The informants made interesting observations. When asked if she pronounced b or v according to the spelling L said she thought she did, but not consciously. Other than bilabial in un beso, she uses only the labiodental for the checklist. B, who uses all labiodentals, stated she used a b in words like baño, which she demonstrated with a compressed labiodental saying "[v]año. It's like a v, but it sounds like a b. [v]año, like el [v]año" During the visual session, N volunteered "beso con la 'b' (pronounced in English)" and "iba con la 'v'" so she was aware of spelling, rightly or wrongly, and stated she believes the sound should correspond to the letter, and indeed her pronunciation does correspond to the spelling more than that of the other informants, 14 of 16 occurrences. Her daughter, A, shows 11 to 15 occurrences, and the other four informants about half.

In a previous study (Merz, 1970) an educated upper-class woman who is also a native-born Tucsonian of Sonoran descent brought up in one of the barrios, but now living in an Anglo neighborhood and very comfortable in English, stated her realizations conformed to the orthography. In reality her orthographic v is more often realized as the labiodental whereas for orthographic b, the bilabial alternates with the labiodental when not utterance initial or after a nasal. Examples with written v: [v]a a [v]enir gente, [v]oy a ser[v]ir coca-cola, in[v]ierno, en[b]ase, [b]einte ~ [v]einte. Examples with written b: alfom[b]ra, sil[v]ar, pro[ƀ]a[∅]lemente, muy [b]onita, po[v]re, pala[ƀ]ras, ha[v]la ~ ha[ƀ]la, [b]aile, al [v]aile.

In summary, historically there has been confusion in Spanish about the pronunciation of orthographic b/v. This confusion continues to this day, reinforced by the schools and the belief some people have that it is "correct" to pronounce a labiodental for written v. The [v] is well-established in the Southwest. In the Tucson variety of Spanish, the labiodental is the preferred pronunciation for both the v and b and this is more so among those English-dominant informants. The correlations of usage with English dominance would indicate that the presence of English reinforces and extends the labiodental usage in the Spanish of the Southwest.

THE VOICELESS ALVEOPALATAL GROOVE FRICATIVE [š]. Orthographic ch is realized in this speech by [š], ([ʃ]), the voiceless alveopalatal groove fricative, and [ĉ], ([tʃ]), the voiceless alveopalatal affricate, which will be referred to as the fricative and the affricate.

Deaffrication, here, [ĉ] → [š], is a natural tendency in Spanish and other languages as the simplification of affricates to their fricative counterparts is viewed as a special case of deletion of obstruents (and [h]) next to the other obstruents, a proposed explanation of Guile (1974) being that the segment having greater overall amplitude (in this case the [š]) persists. Whitley (1978:387) states that although the deaffrication [ĉ] → [š] in modern dialects of Spanish involves only one change in feature specification ([+del rel]   [-del rel]) and is thus rather natural in generative phonology, it is "hardly the predetermined fate of all the affricates in all languages."

The fricative for ch is found in many Spanish-speaking areas among which are Sonora, Mexico (Miller, 1975), Puebla, Mexico (Henríquez Ureña, 1938), southern Spain (Navarro Tomás, 1948; Lastra, 1967), Cuba (Lamb, 1968), Santo Domingo (Henríquez Ureña, 1940), and the coasts of Columbia (Flórez, 1951). A spectrographic analysis of the non-spontaneous speech of 10 students in San Juan, Puerto Rico (Quilis and Vaquero, 1973) reveals 20.6% [š] in medial position (intervocalic and postconsonantal) and 10% in utterance initial position.

The fricative for orthographic ch appears to be spreading in the southwest United States. It is rare in Los Angeles (Phillips, 1967), recent in Arizona, as it was not noted in 1934 (Post), recent in New Mexico, as it was documented in 1956 (Duncan) but not in the early part of the century (Espinosa, 1909), and is attested to in most Texas studies (Coltharp, 1965; González, 1969; Marrocco, 1972; Sánchez, 1972) but not by Clegg (1969), nor was it noted in the southern Colorado study (Ross, 1975).

The fricative also occurs in various dialects of the Spanish-speaking world for ll or ll/y, s + yod, s + /k/, in words of Indian origin, in foreign words as beige, garage, and in words from Latin j-, g-, -x-, s-, sc-, -ss-, and c + i, e (Duncan, 1956; García de Diego, 1959; Espinosa, 1909; Lastra, 1967; Marrocco, 1972; Perissinotto, 1975; Scavnicky, 1975).

In this Tucson speech ch occurs in syllable initial position after pause, after a vowel, and after a consonant. The fricatives, as shown in Table 2, occur in all of the above environments. Numerically, the fricative occurs in more than a third of the total occurrences, 131 of 366, but over half (71) are from the speech of one informant. The affricate is the major allophone for 7 of the informants and the only allophone for B. The ninth informant, A, uses the fricative overwhelmingly and is the only informant using the fricative in utterance initial position. See Table 2, Column 1. Examples:

A: [š]ocó contra una piedra. '(The car) crashed into a rock.'
A: [š]eetos le dicen. 'They call them Cheetos (snack food).'

In postconsonantal position the affricate prevails after /n, l, r/ and the fricative after /s/: plan [ĉ]o, el [ĉ]iquito, tejer [ĉ]alecos, cosas [š]iquitos. Four of the 5 exceptions to the /nĉ] sequence occur at word boundaries, *un [š]icano*, *un [š]iste*, as does the only exception to the /l/ + [ĉ] sequence, *el [š]eque*.

The intervocalic position is most favorable to the use of the fricative, particularly in the speech of A, L, and Y. The high-frequency word *mucho* is listed separately on Table 2 because the fricative is generally used less than in the other words with intervocalic *ch*.

Mucho occurs as an adverb or as an adjective with feminine and plural forms. It carries primary stress with the stressed vowel being either oral or nasalized. In 34 cases the nasalized variant is an emphatic form with a prolonged [ũ:] plus the affricate allophone; there is only one example of the fricative with the nasalized form. Examples:

L: Pues salen m[ũ:nĉ]o todas las noches. 'They go out a lot, every night.'

C: Las zapetas del niñi se empuercan m[ũ:nš]o. 'My baby's diapers get just filthy.'

TABLE 2. [ĉ] Allophones

		A	B	C	L	M	N	X	Y	Z	N
Utterance initial											
chile, *chamaco*,	[ĉ]	0	0	6	1	9	0	0	0	2	18
chorizo	[š]	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Postconsonantal											
enchiladas,	[ĉ]	17	2	2	1	13	2	8	8	4	57
el chiquito,	[š]	3	0	0	0	6	1	0	0	0	10
las chamacas											
mucho											
m[u]cho	[ĉ]	22	3	21	18	7	12	12	2	7	104
m[ũ:]cho	[š]	36	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	43
Intervocalic											
(excluding *mucho*)	[ĉ]	2	16	30	16	31	14	44	17	17	187
muchacho, *noche*	[š]	26	0	1	14	6	3	6	15	1	72
mi chamaca, *echar*											
Totals	[ĉ]	41	21	59	36	60	28	64	27	30	366
	[š]	71	0	3	19	12	4	6	15	1	131

The Spanish Royal Academy dictionary (1956) lists *muncho* as an archaic adjective characteristic of uneducated speech. The epenthetic *n* is often a reflection of another nasal in the same word (Menéndez Pidal, 1966:189), as in the development of *mancha* and *manzana* and in the current alternates *pantu[n]flas* ~ *pantuflas*. In the Tucson variety of

Spanish, muncho occurs more as an adverb than an adjective and its selection appears to be conditioned by extra stress. Sixty percent of the nasalized variants, m[ũ:]cho or m[ũ:n]cho, are adverbs, whereas only 31% of the non-nasalized forms, m[uĉ]o, m[uš]as, etc., occur as adverbs.

All informants use the affricate in the non-nasalized forms, but only 3 use the fricative: C once, L moderately, and A frequently. A uses the [š] more frequently in the first part of her tape (76%), than in the latter part when she was tiring (38%). Examples:

A: Me gusta m[uš]o hacer m[uš]as cosas. 'I really like to do a lot of things.'

A: Un llorón es una persona que llora m[uĉ]o. Y a mí me gusta llorar m[uš]o. 'A crybaby is someone who cries a lot. And I like to cry a lot.'

Excluding the high-frequency mucho, in which the affricate is used an average 99% and 92% in muncho and mucho, the proportionate use of the affricate decreases to an average 73% in the rest of the intervocalic occurrences, and the use of the fricative more than triples to 27%. In about half of the women, the use of the fricative increases when the informant speaks faster, as illustrated in these frequencies and percentages of Y.

	Slow	Medium	Fast
[ĉ]	8 (73%)	7 (58%)	2 (22%)
[š]	3 (27%)	5 (42%)	7 (78%)

This is true, too, for all occurrences of the high-frequency word, muchacho with its feminine and plural forms.

[ĉ]	3(100%)	12 (86%)	2 (25%)
[š]	0 (0%)	2 (14%)	6 (75%)

Muchacho occurs 17 times with the affricate and 8 with the fricative, but individually one finds informants with all affricates, all fricatives, or both allophones, but in the diminutive muchachito the fricative occurs in 8 of the 9 occurrences, regardless of speed. Examples:

M (Med.): Estos mu[ĉ]a[ĉ]os no hacen caso. 'These youngsters don't pay any attention.'

N (Fast): Se encontró un mu[š]a[š]o que empezaba a jugar con ella. 'She met a boy who began to play (pool) with her.'

Y: Ahí estaba sentada con mi mu[š]a[š]ita. 'And there she was sitting with my little girl.'

Of interest are the affricate and fricative in the same word in mu[ĉ]a[š]a and mu[ĉ]a[š]ita in the speech of X, and [ĉ] for /k/ in baby talk, chiquita as [ĉ]i[ĉ]ita.

C: Tiene la cabeza [ĉ]i[ĉ]ita. '(My son) has a little bitty head.'

Although B has no words with the fricative for ch, she did have an independent sound, used as an intensified, realized as [ĉ] or [š]. Examples:

B: No sirvió [š:] y no lo llevé para atrás. '(The watch) didn't work and I didn't take it back.'

B: Todo el tiempo estoy [ĉ:] apurada. 'I'm always rushed.'

B: Y no sabía nada [ĉ:]. No tenía nada de sabor. '(The beef) didn't taste good at all.'

The upper-class Tucson woman of Sonoran descent mentioned in the [v] section (Merz, 1970) does use [š] in her speech, which would suggest the fricative may not enjoy high prestige, a factor not evaluated in this paper because all of the informants are of the same low socioeconomic level.

In summary, the fricative occurs for [ĉ] in areas with no contact with English, as well as for other phonemes in many dialects of Spanish. The use of [š] is not so extensive as that of [v] in the southwest United States and in this Tucson group, but even its moderate usage stands out in contrast with its absence in Arizona some 45 years ago. Although no one factor accounts for the allophonic variation, the following are significant. The position of ch is the most important predictor of allophonic realization, the intervocalic being most favorable to the fricative, 27%, but less so if the word is mucho, 8%, and even less so if it is the nasalized variant, 1%. The next most important factor is the individual: B has no examples of the fricative in words whereas A has predominantly fricative usage, even in utterance initial position. A faster rate of speech correlates with a higher use of the fricative. The function of the word has been shown to be related to usage in that the nasalized form of mucho, said almost exclusively with the affricate, is more likely to be an adverb than an adjective. Word boundary occurrence can inhibit the expected affricate from occurring after the nasal. No pattern can be seen between [š] use and familiarity with English, nor is there a similarity of usage between N and A, mother and daughter, nor can usage be characterized by age. A phenomenon from this study supporting a possible Sonoran (-Chihuahuan) influence is that B, whose parents are from Mexico City, does not use [š] for ch. Other extra-linguistic evidence would undoubtedly shed light on the informants' usage, especially evaluation of [ĉ] as an allophone of prestige.

THE VOICED RETROFLEX SEMI-VOCOID [R]. The English [R], the voiced retroflex semi-vocoid, by no means frequent for /r/ in Southwest Spanish, is documented for California in intervocalic position and before pause (Phillips, 1967). In Texas, Marrocco (1972) also finds intervocalic [R]. Clegg (1969) and Marrocco (1972) both mention [R] before pause, and [R] + /s/, giving the examples *graduarse* and *llenar su*, the latter from a non English speaker. Post (1934), Ross (1975), and Espinosa (1909), did not mention [R] for /r/ for Arizona, southern Colorado and northern New Mexico. Varela (1974) finds that the tap and trill of English-dominant Cubans in Miami and New Orleans tend toward the English /r/.

There is a general tendency towards weakening of the fricatives, affricate, and vibrants in the speech of the Tucson informants (Merz, 1977). The vibrants are often produced with less tension, force and duration (Merz, 1978). One finds for example, a very weak voiced fricative /r/ in implosive position, [ř], especially before homorganic /l, n, s/ as in *ayudarle*, *horno*, and *catorce*. There are 10 examples of the English retroflex [R], the phone on the continuum between the weakened fricative [ř] and omission, all in the syllable *per* in *persona*, *personalmente*, and once in *despertaba*. Of the 5 women with *persona* in their speech, only one did not use the English [R].

In conclusion, this paper shows the extent of use of three allophonic variants of Spanish which are similar in their realizations to English consonants. The three allophones, [v], [š], and English retroflex [R], described for a limited segment of Tucson's Spanish-speaking population, occur in varying proportions in the speech of each informant: [v] is used most consistently and by all the informants; the use of [š] ranges from none to frequent, and that of [R] is rare. In regard to English, the frequency of usage of [š] appears to be independent of English influence, but that of [v] is related to English dominance, and [R] is found in a cognate. This is not to say I am claiming English origin, as [š] and [v] are documented for areas with no contact with English and these phones have existed in Spanish for many centuries. The presence of the phones in the contact language, however, is reflected in the frequency of [v], the presence of [R], and undoubtedly facilitates the reinforcement of any tendencies from within the language.

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CONTRIBUTORS

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AMASTAE, JOHN: Dr. Amastae received his Ph.D. from Oregon in 1975. He has served as Acting Director of the Language and Linguistics Research Center at Pan American University and Assistant Professor of English. He is currently on leave in South America. His research interests include phonological theory, pidgin-creole languages, historical linguistics, language contact, bilingualism, sociolinguistics, and language acquisition.

BAHR, DONALD: Donald Bahr was raised in Iowa and trained in anthropology in Massachusetts. He first came to Arizona in 1960 and has kept an interest in Pima and Papago culture since then. He is currently Professor of Anthropology at Arizona State University, Tempe.

BARKIN, FLORENCE: Dr. Barkin received her Ph.D from the State University of New York, Buffalo. She is Assistant Professor of Spanish at Arizona State University, where she teaches and coordinates upper division language courses, and teaches linguistics (introduction, socio--and applied) and Spanish in the Southwest. Her research interests include second language acquisition, socio--and applied linguistics and bilingualism, its social, psychological and pedagogical implications. Current research investigates bilingual speech for language variation in the nuclear family, code-switching, gender assignment and influence of English on Spanish. In a practical vein, she has directed the development and administration of a new Spanish bilingual proficiency examination required of all teachers before receiving an Arizona State Bilingual Certificate.

BILLS, GARLAND: Dr. Bills received his Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Texas-Austin in 1969. He is currently Chairman of Linguistics and Associate Professor of Linguistics and Modern & Classical Languages at the University of New Mexico. His major professional interests are syntax and the Andean and United States Southwest linguistic/sociolinguistic situations. His publications have dealt primarily with Southwest Spanish and Quechua.

BRANDT, ELIZABETH A.: Dr. Brandt is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Arizona State University. She is currently the Ethnographic Coordinator and Research Coordinator for Instruction for a large interdisciplinary project in literacy. She has worked with Tanoan languages in New Mexico and with Apache in Arizona. Her research interests are in bilingualism, literacy, cerebral lateralization for speech processing, and the relations between language and culture.

CANDELARIA DE RAM, S. : Her work draws on training and research in the physical sciences and music as well as in sociolinguistics. Her research interests are wide-ranging, from forms of Indic and Western musical grammar and usage to the phonetics of musicolinguistics in Southwest Hispanic song, informed by the perspective of a native.

COOLEY, RALPH: Dr. Cooley received his Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Michigan in 1974. He is a faculty member in the Department of Communication at the University of Oklahoma. He is currently engaged in linguistic research on Delaware. His interests are in communicative competance in children, especially in multi-lingual and multi-dialectal settings and also in conversational analysis and cross-cultural communication.

CORDOVA, ROBERTO: Dr. Cordova received his doctorate in Spanish linguistics from the University of Colorado in 1977. He is presently an Assistant Professor of Spanish at the University of Northern Colorado. His main area of interest is the study of the syntactic and phonological characteristics of Chicano Spanish and poetry.

COTTON, ELEANOR GREET: Dr. Cotton received her doctorate in Education Curriculum and Development with an emphasis on child language acquisition and development from the University of New Mexico. She is currently Associate Professor of Linguistics and Coordinator of the Freshman English as a Second Language Program at the University of Texas, El Paso. Her interests are in linguistics and literature, psycholinguistics and reading, and languages in contact, especially English and Spanish along the border.

DAUPHINAIS, LOUISE: Ms. Dauphinais is a doctoral student in Adult and Community education at the Center for Studies in Lifelong Learning, College of Education, The University of Oklahoma. Her research interests are language behavior, cultural factors, and educational environments in both school and non-school settings.

DILLARD, J. L.: J. L. Dillard was born in 1924, in Texas, and took BA and MA degrees from Southern Methodist University in Dallas and the Ph. D. from the University of Texas, Austin. His teaching experience includes a Fulbright lectureship at Universidad Central, Quito, Ecuador, and another at Université Officielle de Bujumbura, Burundi. He also work with AID in Yaounde, Cameroun, for one year. He has taught at the University of Puerto Rico and was research associate for most of that time at the Institute of Caribbean Studies. His books include Black English (1972), All-American English (1975), and A Lexicon for Black English (1977). Two additional volumes are in preparation.

DUBOIS, BETTY LOU: Dr. Dubois received her Ph. D. in linguistics and language pedagogy from the University of New Mexico in 1972. She is Associate Professor of eech at New Mexico State University and is on sabbatical in Britain during Fall, 1979 where she is doing research on the structure of spoken and written scientific English as presented at national scientific meetings and in articles from professional journals. She has a continuing interest in language and sex roles.

EDELSKY, CAROLE: Dr. Edelsky received her Ph.D. from the University of New Mexico in 1974, with a concentration in educational linguistics. She has taught Language Arts method and sociolinguistic topics courses at Florida International University in Miami and at Arizona State University where she is in the Department of Elementary Education. Her interests include the acquisition of communicative competence, sex roles and language, second language acquisition, and conversational analysis.

ELERICK, CHARLES: Dr. Elerick is an Associate Professor at the University of Texas at El Paso. He holds a doctorate in linguistics from the University of Texas at Austin. His research interests include bilingual phonology and models of bilingual competence and Latin Linguistics.

ELIAS-OLIVARES, LUCIA: Dr. Elias-Olivares received a B.A. in Spanish from the University of Chile, her M.A. and Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics from the University of Texas at Austin in 1976. She is currently an Assistant Professor of Spanish at the University of Illinois-Chicago Circle where she teaches Hispanic sociolinguistics and coordinates a Spanish for Native Speakers program. She has done field work in Chicago speech communities of Texas and is now working on an investigation of various aspects of bilingualism among Spanish-English bilinguals in Chicago. Her research interests include socio and applied linguistics, bilingualism, and United States varieties of Spanish.

FLOYD, MARY BETH: Dr. Floyd received a Ph.D. in Spanish from the University of Colorado, Boulder, in 1976 with a specialization in Spanish linguistics. She did previous undergraduate and graduate work in Spanish language and literature at Colorado State University and the University of New Mexico. Her major areas of interest are syntax, particularly verb usage, United States varieties of Spanish, and Spanish-English bilingualism. She is currently an Assistant Professor of Spanish at Northern Illinois University.

GIFF, JOSEPH: Mr. Giff is a resident in St. John's village in the Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community. He is a Pima who was born and raised at Gila River and was educated through the eighth grade at St. John's Parish School, graduating in 1926. He was not born a singer, but developed an interest in the 1960's when he served as a helper to Don Thomas' woodpecker songs. In 1976 he became a student of Swallow songs and has gradually become a singer under Paul Manuel. He is particularly interested in the blue swallow songs. This is his first publication and the first publication of written Pima.

GUNTERMANN, GAIL: Dr. Guntermann received her Ph.D. in Foreign Language Education, from Ohio State University. She currently teaches Spanish and teaching methods at Arizona State University and supervises the student teachers of Spanish in Phoenix area high schools. She has taught high school and trained and supervised teachers of Spanish and English as a Foreign Language in Costa Rica, Ohio, and El Salvador. She has taught at the State University Colleges in Brockport and Fredonia, New York, and most recently served as Director of Language Programs for Avance, S. A., a company involved in international training in El Salvador.

GUTIERREZ, JOHN R.: Mr. Gutierrez received a Master of Arts from New Mexico State University in 1977 and is currently a Ph.D. candidate in Hispanic Linguistics at The University of New Mexico. His primary interests include historical linguistics, teaching Spanish to Spanish speakers, and the Spanish of the Southwest.

HAEFER, J. RICHARD: Dr. Haefer is Assistant Professor of Music at Arizona State University and previously served as director of the Multicultural Music Program at Eastern New Mexico University. He is currently completing his doctoral dissertation for the University of Illinois-Urbana. His interests and publications are in writing and recording North American Indian Music and in music instruments.

IRVINE, PATRICIA: Ms. Irvine is a Graduate student in Educational Foundations at the University of New Mexico. She has taught English composition and basic writing skills in The English Tutorial Program at the University of New Mexico for three years and spent two summers teaching in The College Level Literacy Program at Navajo Community College, in Tsaile, Arizona. She spent last year living in Ft. Defiance, Arizona and teaching writing (in English) to Navajo Adults in a Human Services Training Program sponsored by Navajo Community College and funded by CETA.

HALTRESHT, MICHAEL: Dr. Haltresht, who was born in Israel, holds degrees in linguistics as well as literature. Dr. Haltresht is assistant professor of English at Corpus Christi State University. Multilingual himself, he is interested in the improvement of English among foreign and bilingual students. Other interests include grammar, the history of the English language, techniques of teaching composition, and the interpretation of dreams and visions in literature.

HART-GONZALEZ, LUCINDA: Lucinda Hart-González is a doctoral student in Sociolinguistics at Georgetown University where she also teaches English as a Foreign Language. She received her M. A. in linguistics from Georgetown. Before going to Georgetown, she taught elementary grades in the Boston Public Schools' bilingual program. Her principal interests include variation and language change, ethnography of communication, American Indian linguistics, and bilingualism. Her early training as a professional musician and her present involvement in Andean studies have led to a current interest in ethnomusicology. Her publications include "Commentary on Albo's review of Lastra's Cochabamba Quechua Syntax" in the International Journal of American Linguistics.

HOFFER, BATES: Dr. Hoffer is a Professor of English at Trinity University. He is also the editor of Papers in Southwestern English, a series which has produced two books and several dozen papers from previous SWALLOW Workships. He served as the conference chair for SWALLOW in 1976.

HUDELSON, SARAH: Dr. Hudelson is Assistant Professor in the Department of Elementary Education at Arizona State University. She received her doctorate in Curriculum and Instruction from the University of Texas at Austin. Her interests are in the areas of native and second language literacy in children, second language acquisition and language development in bilingual classrooms.

KONTAS, GRETTA: Ms. Kontas is a Graduate student at the University of Oklahoma, and was formerly a secondary teacher in the public schools. Her interests include communication education and small group behavior.

KROSKRITY, PAUL V.: Dr. Kroskrity studied Comparative Literature, Comparative Religion, and Oriental Languages at Columbia College of Columbia University where he earned a B. A. degree in 1971. At Indiana University he studied Anthropology and Linguistics, completing his doctoral dissertation--Aspects of Arizona Tewa Language Structure and Language Use--under the direction of C. F. Voegelin in 1977. After a brief visiting appointment in the Anthropology Department at the University of Missouri at Columbia, he now serves as Assistant Professor of Anthropology at University of California at Los Angeles. His research interests are anthropological linguistics, sociolinguistics, Kiowa-Tanoan Languages, American Indian Languages and linguistic theory, and symbolic anthropology.

LABADIE-WONDERGEM, DIANA: Diana Labadie-Wondergem is a master's student and graduate assistant in the Department of Communication at the University of Oklahoma. She is interested in Native American Studies, sociolinguistics and classroom communication.

LAROCHE, JACQUES M.: Dr. Laroche is a Parisian who received his first degrees at the Sorbonne. After a period of teaching in Norway and at Michigan State, he received a Ph.D. in 1976. He is currently a faculty member at New Mexico State University. His interests include language acquisition, foreign language teaching, linguistic approaches to foreign language teaching, and measurement of readibility.

LAVANDERA, BEATRIZ R.: Dr. Lavandera received her Ph.D. in 1975 from the University of Pennsylvania for which she submitted a dissertation on Tense Variation in Spanish, supervised by William Labov. From 1975 to 1977 she taught in the Department of Anthropology of Johns Hopkins University and in 1977-1978 she held a Guggenheim Fellowship to carry out Sociolinguistic Studies. At present she is Assistant Professor of Linguistics in the Department of Linguistics of Stanford University and her main interest is in the development of a Theory of Variation on the basis of research on Spanish and Bilingualism. She has published in Language in Society, the Georgetown University Round Table Series, and several other journals and Working Papers.

LEAP, WILLIAM L.: Dr. Leap is Associate Professor of Anthropology, the American University, Washington, D. C. He served as Director of Indian Education programs, Center for Applied Linguistics, from 1974-79. He currently is a bilingual education specialist, Education Components, National Tribal Chriamen's Association, D. C. He has worked with over 70 tribes and Indian organizations in language maintenance and renewal efforts. He also coordinated the publication of the first book of studies about American Indian English in the southwest, which continues to be an area of research and professional interest.

LOZANO, ANTHONY GIRARD: Dr. Lozano is Associate Professor of Spanish and Portuguese and acting chair of the department at the University of Colorado-Boulder. He received his degree from the University of Texas at Austin. Some of his previous positions have been Assistant Dean of the Defense Language Institute (1964-66), Assistant Professor of Linguistics at Cornell and Study Abroad Director, Jalapa, Veracruz, Mexico. His current interests include bilingual language acquisition in children, dialectology, and theoretical linguistics.

LUJAN, PHILIP: Dr. Lujan is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Communication and director of the Native American Studies Program at the University of Oklahoma. He has a law degree from the University of New Mexico. His major interest is in using intercultural communication as an academic vehicle for Native American Research that confronts contemporary conflicts between Indian and Anglo cultures.

MARTIN, RUDY: Currently Dr. Martin is the Assistant Director of the Office of Bilingual Education at the University of Texas at Austin where he teaches graduate and undergraduate courses in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction. He received his Ph.D. in Hispanic Linguistics from the University of Colorado (1975). He has had many years of classroom experience in elementary and junior high schools in California prior to working on the advanced degrees. His professional interests in the area of bilingual education include language acquisition, language assessment, ESL, FLES, oral language development as an aspect of applied linguistics, and dialectology. He is the author of the *Martin Bilingual Series*.

MEIJIAS, HUGO A.: Hugo Mejías is a native of Chile and holds a degree as a Professor of Spanish from the University of Chile, and an M. A. and Ph.D. in Spanish Linguistics from State University of New York at Buffalo. He is currently Assistant Professor and researcher at Pan American University. His fields of interest are: Spanish American Dialectology, Spanish Applied Linguistics, and Bilingualism. Presently, he is doing research in the Spanish of the Southwest and developing materials to teach Spanish to native speakers. Pan American University has adopted his book, co-authored by Gloria Garza-Swan, *Español para hablantes nativos* as a regular text for 1303, 1304 levels (about 1300 students). Presently he is developing a second book for an intermediate level.

MERZ, GERI W.: Dr. Merz received the B. A. in Romance Languages from the College of St. Catherine in St. Paul, Minnesota, and her M. A. and Ph.D. degrees in Spanish and Linguistics from the University of Arizona. Her dissertation, "A Phonological Study of the Spanish Spoken in La Reforma Neighborhood in Tucson, Arizona," was completed in 1977. Since that time Dr. Merz has been a faculty member at the University of Houston.

MOORMAN, GARY B.: G. Moorman is presently a doctoral candidate in the College of Education at Arizona State University. His area of specialization is in the field of reading education. He is especially interested in applying socio- and psycholinguistic concepts and research methodology to the reading process. For the last three years he has taught Elementary and Secondary Reading Education classes at Arizona State University. Previously he served as a clinical reading specialist at South Mountain High School in Phoenix, Arizona.

NILSEN, DON L. F.: Dr. Nilsen is Professor of English Linguistics at Arizona State University. He is the Editor of the Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature and Co-Editor with Francine Hardaway of the Public Doublespeak Newsletter. He also serves as a member of the National Council of Teachers of English Commission on the English Language. He is the author of three books in linguistics and has co-authored another three with Aleen Pace Nilsen.

MCQUADE, JUDY A.: Ms. McQuade is currently an Instructor of English at Pan American University and is completing her doctoral studies in linguistics at the University of Texas at Austin. Her interests include language contact, language and literacy acquisition, bilingualism, and sociolinguistics and their effects on linguistic theory. She is now working primarily on various aspects of bilingualism among Pan American students.

MONTGOMERY, ANNE: Dr. Montgomery received a Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin in Applied Linguistics in 1976. She is currently Assistant Professor of English and teaches linguistics at New Mexico State University. She is interested in North American Indian language literacy and writing systems and the applications of linguistics to the teaching of languages, native and otherwise.

ORR, MARGARET: Ms Orr is a Senior at Arizona State University, majoring in Spanish and Early Childhood Education. She is currently student teaching in a bilingual first grade class and plans to teach prior to doing graduate work in psycholinguistics.

PEDRAZA, PEDRO: Mr. Pedraza is the Director of Research, Language Policy Task Force, Center for Puerto Rican Studies at the City University of New York. He is a doctoral student in sociology at Columbia where he is currently working on an interdisciplinary study of language in the Puerto Rican community in New York. This study includes ethnographic, social attitudinal and linguistic data.

PINO, DONNA P.: Ms. Pino is from Santa Ana Pueblo. She received an M. A. in Elementary Education with specializations in Linguistics and Bilingual Education from the University of New Mexico. She has taught in elementary classrooms, worked in teacher training at the University of Albuquerque, and is currently the Director of the Adult Basic Education Program in the All Indian Pueblo Council, Inc. She is also the Chairman of the New Mexico Native American Bilingual Education Steering Committee.

READ, JOHN: Dr. Read is Lecturer in Linguistics at the University of Texas at El Paso, where he teaches English as a Second Language and introductory linguistics. A native of New Zealand, he received his Bachelor's and Master's degrees in English Language from Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. In 1978 he completed his Ph.D. in Education at the University of New Mexico with a dissertation entitled "A Sociolinguistic Study of Crow Language Maintenance." He has previously taught English as a Second Language and Applied Linguistics at the English Language Institute, Wellington, New Zealand and at Indiana University. His research interests are in language maintenance and language shift, and applications of sociolinguistic research to educational planning with particular reference to bilingual education.

REYNA, JOSE R.: Dr. Reyna is Associate Professor of Modern and Classical Languages at the University of New Mexico. He received his Ph.D. from the University of California at Los Angeles in Spanish with a specialization in Hispanic Folklore. His interests are in the areas of Chicano humor, Chicano music, Chicano grafitti, and Texas dialect.

RIVAS, ALBERTA: Dr. Rivas has a Ph.D. in linguistics from Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is currently a Professor of Hispanic Linguistics at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. He has done work in applied mathematics, machine translation of languages, and Romance linguistics. His current research interests are in clitic pronouns, Spanish morphology, and in Guarani phonology.

ROGERS, SARAH: Dr. Sarah Rogers, who was born in Bloomington, Indiana, holds degrees in Elementary Education and Reading Education from Indiana University. Dr. Rogers is an assistant professor in the College of Education Corpus Christi State University, Corpus Christi, Texas. Research interests include identifying the stages of beginning reading which seem to accompany different teaching strategies and reading comprehension.

SANCHEZ, ROSAURA: Dr. Sanchez has her Ph.D. in Romance Linguistics from the University of Texas at Austin. She is currently an Assistant Professor in the Department of Literature at the University of California, San Diego. Her major areas of research are sociolinguistics, Chicano Spanish, and semiotics.

SANCHEZ-SADEK, CARMEN: Dr. Sadek received her Ph.D. in Education and Linguistics from the University of California Los Angeles in 1972. She has taught at the University of California at Los Angeles, the University of Southern California and is currently at California State University-Los Angeles. She has served as a Director of Systems for Objective-Based Assessment for Reading in Spanish, as Director of the Spanish Language Program and as Coordinator for Spanish Language courses. She has published on language acquisition, applied linguistics and teaching methodologies. Her research interests are in language acquisition and literacy.

SANDS, KAY: Dr. Sands is Assistant Professor of English at Arizona State University where she specializes in teaching American Indian literatures and American folklore. She received her Ph. D. and Master's degrees from the University of Arizona. Her major area of interest in Native American Literatures is Papago, Yaqui, and Hopi oral literatures, and particularly in autobiography.

SCAFE, MARLA GAIL: Ms. Scafe is currently a Graduate Teaching Assistant pursuing a Ph.D. in Communication at the University of Oklahoma. Previously, she attended Purdue University for her Masters Degree work and received her Bachelor's Degree at Michigan State University. Her current research interests include Educational and pedagogical concerns in a communication setting. Typical projects include interactional analysis of teacher and pupil, and curriculum development and planning.

SEYMANN, MARILYN: Dr. Seymann is the Director of Bilingual Education at Mesa Community College. Previously, she was a faculty member in the Spanish Department at Colombia University, where she did her graduate work, and at Arizona State University. Her publications include texts in the applied domains of Spanish and a study of the linguistic and methodological competencies needed in the training of bilingual teachers and teacher aides. Special fields of interest include sociolinguistics, second language acquisition and Spanish for Spanish speakers.

SILER, INA C.: Ms. Siler is a doctoral student and graduate assistant in the Department of Communication at the University of Oklahoma. She is interested in communication competency testing, language behavior in the classroom and interracial communication.

SHARP, JOHN M.: Dr. Sharp is Professor of Modern Languages and Linguistics at the University of Texas at El Paso, where he teaches in both departments. His areas of specialization include Hispanic literature, history of the Spanish language, and methods of foreign language instruction. He also teaches Hispanic applied linguistics and Latin American dialectology and Latin. He has published extensively in the area of bilingualism and dialectology.

SOBIN, NICHOLAS: Dr. Sobin received his Ph. D. in linguistics from the University of Texas, Austin. He is currently with the Language and Linguistics Research Center at Pan American University investigating syntactic aspects of bilingualism among PAU students. Other research interests include theoretical syntax and semantics.

SPOLSKY, BERNARD: Dr. Spolsky is Professor of Linguistics, Elementary Education, and Anthropology and Dean of Graduate Studies at the University of New Mexico. He has served as president of several national organizations and has published extensively in the areas of educational sociolinguistics.

STAHL, ROBERT J.: Dr. Stahl is currently Assistant Professor of Secondary Education at Arizona State University. In 1975 he received an Ed.D. degree in Curriculum and Instruction from the University of Florida. He has had 7 years of secondary school teaching experience, and 3 years at Mississippi University for Women. He has published extensively on values/moral education, the teaching of psychology, concept learning, classroom teaching methods, and more recently on a new approach to classroom questions. The focus of his research and activities is the improvement of instruction from the planning through the evaluation phase.

STOUT, STEVEN OWEN: Dr. Stout is currently doing full-time research for the Neuro-Sensory Disabilities Program, Communication Disorders Unit, Indian Health Service, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Previous to this research position he served as a Bureau of Indian Affairs Reading and Writing Specialist at Laguna Elementary School, Laguna Pueblo, New Mexico. During this period of time he completed his dissertation on language usage among elementary-aged students at Laguna Elementary School. His current research emphasis lies in studying language development at Zuni Pueblo, New Mexico, with a specific concentration on separating the effects of nearing impairment from bilingual language fluency on English usage. He plans future projects in audiology and linguistics on a national and international scale.

STOVALL, JAMES F.: James F. Stovall is on the faculty of Our Lady of the Lake University in San Antonio, Texas. He has a joint appointment with the Institute for Intercultural Studies and Research and with the Department of Sociology. He has graduate training in sociology and anthropology, concentrating on the area of culture and cognition, self identity, and urban ethnography. He has completed two field research projects pertaining to socialization and identity in deviant subcultures. He is currently completing his Ph.D. in Anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin.

STOVALL, MARGARET: Ms. Stovall is currently on academic leave from Trinity University where she is an Instructor in the Foreign Language Department. She has graduate training in Spanish language and literature. Her interests include language acquisition, curriculum development in the area of Spanish for native speakers, and language teaching methodology. She is presently completing work toward a Ph.D. in Bilingual Education at the University of Texas at Austin.

TANG, MARY TOLEDO: Born in Jimez Pueblo, New Mexico, Mary Tang has lived not only among the Pueblo tribes, but also among the Sioux people of North and South Dakota. She is now employed by the All Indian Pueblo Council at the Albuquerque Indian School as a program analyst in the office of Planning and Evaluation. Mary is also working on her doctorate under Bernard Spolsky at University of New Mexico in linguistics and education.

TROIKE, RUDOLPH C.: Dr. Troike, a native of Brownsville, Texas, majored in anthropology for his Bachelor's Degree and Master's Degree, and in linguistics for his Ph.D., all at the University of Texas (Austin). His graduate work also included two years at the Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia (Mexico). He has taught in Turkey and Taiwan, and was for ten years on the faculty at the University of Texas at Austin, where he was Professor of English and Linguistics before becoming Director of the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington in 1972. He is currently Deputy Director of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. His principal interests include American Indian linguistics, semantic theory, sociolinguistics, language universals, and ethnohistory. His publications include *An Introduction to Spoken Bolivian Quechua*, with Garland Bills and Bernardo Vallejo.

UNDERWOOD, GARY N.: Dr. Underwood is an Associate Professor of English at The University of Texas at Austin. He received the Ph.D. in English with a specialization in English language and linguistics from the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities. Prior to joining the faculty at the University of Texas he taught at San Antonio College and The University of Arkansas at Fayetteville. He also served for four years as the Assistant Editor of the *Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest*. With research interests in American English, linguistic variation, and language attitudes, he is presently engaged in a long-range study of Arkansas English. He is co-editor of *Readings in American Dialectology* and author of *The Dialect of the Mesabi Iron Range* (forthcoming) and over twenty-five articles on language in *American Speech*, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, *Orbis*, *Western Folklore*, and various other journals. He presented papers at SWALLOW II and IV.

VALDES, GUADALUPE: Dr. Valdés is Associate Professor of Spanish at New Mexico State University. She has worked extensively on language alteration (code-switching) among Mexican-American bilinguals and is the author of numerous articles in this area which have appeared in Hispania, Language in Society, International Journal of the Sociology of Language and others. Additionally, her work in educational linguistics has concentrated on the teaching of Spanish to Hispanic bilinguals in this country. She is co-editor and co-author of a number of texts and books in this area.

VERA CRUZ, ISABEL Y.: Dr. Vera Cruz was born and raised in the Philippines where she grew up speaking a wide variety of languages. She has a Master's degree in English from the University of the Philippines and taught English and Spanish in that country until 1963. She received a second Master's degree in Spanish Linguistics from the University of Illinois and has done additional graduate work in linguistics at Ohio State University. She is currently completing her doctoral studies at the University of Texas at Austin in Applied Linguistics and is an Assistant Professor of Spanish and English as a Second Language at San Antonio College. Her interests are in bilingualism and negative attitudes towards it in this country.

VILLARREAL, HILDEBRANDO: Dr. Villarreal attended the University of New Mexico where he received both his Bachelor and Master of Arts degrees. In 1976 he received his doctorate in Applied Linguistics from University of California at Los Angeles. Professor Villarreal participated in a summer institute titled "Teaching Spanish to Native Spanish Speakers" sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1978. He is presently teaching at California State University, Los Angeles, in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures. His interests include topics in applied linguistics, teaching methodology, and Spanish for native Spanish speakers.

WARNER, BRIAN: Mr. Warner was raised in Arizona, and after some study in Mexico, received his undergraduate degree in 1977 at Arizona State University in Anthropology. For the last two years, he has been doing graduate work in linguistics at Arizona State University, and at the Linguistic Society of America Summer Institute at the University of Illinois. Mr. Warner announces that he is gainfully employed in a non-academic position but this does not mean an abandonment of his interests in linguistics.

WEBB, JOHN T.: Terry Webb received his Ph.D. in Romance Philology at the University of California, Berkeley. He is working on a diachronic-synchronic dictionary of Mexican-Chicano calo, and is teaching languages and linguistics at the University of Iowa.

ZAHARLICK, AMY: Dr. Zaharlick received a Ph. D. in anthropology with a specialization in anthropological linguistics from The American University in Washington, D. C. (1977). She served as the Associate Director of the Multicultural Education Program for the Native American Bilingual Teacher Education Program at the University of Albuquerque and is currently a faculty member in the Department of Anthropology at Ohio State University. Her major interests include the training of Native American bilingual education teachers, the development of programs and materials for Native American education, the study of the Pueblo Indian languages of New Mexico, and the analysis of syntactic constructions found in these languages.

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